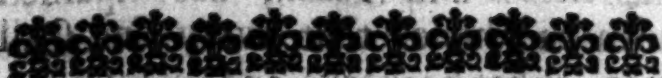


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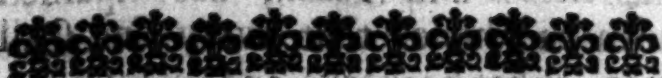


**T**He Relation of a Voyage into  
*Mauritania in Africk*, by *Roland*  
*Fregus* of *Marseilles*, by the *French*  
King's Order, 1666. To *Muley Arxid*,  
King of *Tafiletta*, &c. For the establish-  
ment of a Commerce in the Kingdom  
of *Fez*, and all his other Conquests:  
With a Letter in Answer to divers cu-  
rious Questions concerning the Reli-  
gion, Manners and Customs of his  
Countries: Also their Trading to *Tom-*  
*burum* for Gold, and divers other Par-  
ticulars; by one who lived five and  
twenty years in the Kingdom of *Sus*  
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beatus in die . . . . .



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(2)

A CONTINUATION  
OF THE  
MEMOIRES  
OF

Monfieur BERNIER,  
Concerning the  
*Empire of the Great Mogol:*

*Wherein is contained*

1. An exact Description of DSHLI and AGRA, the Capital Cities of the Empire of the Great MOGOL, together with some particulars, making known the COURT and GENIUS of the *Mogols* and *Indians*, as also the Doctrine, and Extravagant Superstitions and Customs of the Heathen of INDOSTAN.
2. The Emperour of *Mogol's* Voyage to the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, in the Year 1664.
3. A LETTER, written by the Author to *M. Chapelle*, touching his Design of returning, after all his Peregrinations, to his Studies; where he taketh occasion to discourse of the Doctrine of ATOMS, and the Nature of the Understanding of MAN.

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TOME III. and IV.

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English'd out of *French* by H. O.

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LONDON

Printed, and are to be sold by *Moses Pitt*, at the *White Hart* in *Little Britain*. 1672.

CONSTITUTION  
OF  
MEMBERS

MEMBERS

MEMBERS

MEMBERS

MEMBERS

MEMBERS

MEMBERS

MEMBERS

MEMBERS

MEMBERS

MEMBERS

TOME II. and IV.

Published and sold by W. O.

LONDON

Printed and sold by the Author  
and at the British Museum.



**The Heads of the Chief  
Contents of the Third  
Tome, being the Con-  
tinuation of the Great  
Mogols History.**

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A LETTER  
TO

Mr. De la Morthe le Vayer,

WRITTEN

At Dehli July 1. 1663.

Containing the Description of Dehli  
and Agra, and divers particulars  
discovering the Court and Ge-  
nius of the Mogols and Indians.

SIR,

I know that one of the first que-  
stions you are like to ask me, at  
my return in France, will be;  
Whether Dehli and Agra are Cities as  
fair and large, and as well peopled as  
Paris. Concerning its beauty, I shall  
tell you by way of preface, that I have  
sometimes wondered to hear our Eu-

A

rose-



2      **Dehli and Agra capital**

*Europeans*, that are here, despising the Towns of the Indies, as not coming near ours, in respect of the edifices. Certainly they ought not to resemble them; and if *Paris*, *London*, and *Amsterdam* stood in the place where *Dehli* is, the greatest part of them must be thrown down, to build them after another manner. Our Cities indeed have great beauties and embellishments, but they are such that are proper to them, and accommodated to a cold climate. *Dehli* also may have its beauties peculiar to it, and sutable to a very hot climat: For you are to know, that the heat here obligeth all people, even the great Lords and the King himself, to go without stockings, in a kind of slippers onely, a fine and light turbant on their heads, and the other garments accordingly; that there are moneths in the Summer so excessively hot, that in the chambers one can hardly hold ones hands against a wall, nor ones head on a cushion: and that people are obliged for the space of more than six moneths.

moneths to lie without covering, at the door of their chamber, as the rabble doth in the open streets, or as the Merchants and other people of some quality do, in some airy hall or garden, or upon some terrasse well watered at night: thence you may judge, whether if there were such streets as that of St. *Jacques* or St. *Dennis*, with their houses shut, and of so many stories high, they would be habitable? and whether in the night, especially when the heats are without wind and stuffing, it would be possible to sleep there? And who is there (I pray) that would have a mind in Summer, when he returns on horseback from the City half dead, and in a manner stifled of the heat and dust, and all in a sweat, (for so it is) to go climbing up an high pair of Itajres, which often is narrow and dark, to a fourth or fifth story, and to abide in this hot and suffocating air? On such occasions they desire nothing, but to throw down into the stomack a pint of fresh water, or lemonade, to undress,

#### 4 Dehli and Agra capital

dress, to wash the face, hands and feet, to lie down in some cool and shady place all along, having a servant or two to fan one by turns with their great *Panbas*, or Fans. But, to leave this, we shall now endeavor to entertain you with the representation of *Dehli* as it is, that so you may judge, whether it be truly said, that it is a fair City.

It is now about forty yeares that *Chah-Jean*, Father of the Grand-Mogol *Aureng-Zebe* now reigning, to eternize his memory, caused to be built a Town contiguous to old *Dehli*, which he called after his Name *Chah-Jean-Abad*, and by way of abbreviation *Jean-Abad*; that is to say, a Colony of *Chah-Jean*, designing to make it the Capital of the Empire, instead of *Agra*, where he said that the Summer heats were too violent. This needness hath occasioned, that the ruins of old *Dehli* have served to build a new City; and in the Indies they scarce speak any more of *Dehli*, but onely of *Jehan-Abad*. Yet notwithstanding

## Cities of Indostan.

5

standing, since the City of *Jehan-Abad* is not yet known amongst us, I intend to speak of it under the old name of *Dehli*, which is familiar to us.

*Dehli* then is a Town altogether new, seated in a plain Campagne, upon a River like our *Loire*, called *Gemna*, and built along one side of the River only; there being but one Boat-bridge to pass over into the Plaine. This Town is surrounded with walls, except the River side: these walls are of bricks, and without a considerable defence, they being without a ditch, and having nothing to flank them but round Towers after the old way, distant from each other an hundred common paces, and a rampart behind them, four or five foot thick. The compass of these Walls, comprizing the Fortress, is not so big as is commonly believed: I have gone it round with ease in three hours; and I believe not, though I was on horseback, that I dispatched more then one league in an hour 'tis true, that if you will take into the Town a very

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long



6      **Dehli and Agra capital**

long Suburb, which goeth towards *Labor*, as also what remains inhabited of old *Dehli*, which is likewise a great and very long Suburb, and besides, three or four small Suburbs more, all that would make in a direct line above a league and a half, and such a compass which I cannot well determine, because that between the Suburbs are great gardens, and large spaces not built; but I may say, that thus taken it would be of a prodigious bigness.

The Fortress, in which is the *Me-halle*, or *Seraglio*, and the other Royal Apartments, which I shall hereafter speak of, is built round upon the River; yet there is between the water and the walls a pretty large and long sandy space, where commonly Elephants are exercised, and where frequently the *Militia* of the *Omrabs* and *Rajas* is mustered in the Kings presence, who looks out of the windows of one of his Apartments. The walls of the Fortress, as to their round antick towers, are very near like those  
of

of the Town, but they are partly of bricks, and partly of a certain red stone resembling marble, which maketh them look fairer then those of the town; besides that, they are much higher, stronger and thicker; being able to bear some Field-pieces that are there planted towards the town; and incompassed also, excepting that side which respects the River, with a fair ditch, walled up with free-stone, full of water and fish. But yet they whither are considerable fortstrength; a battery of some middle sized Cannons would, in my opinion, soon cast them down.

Round about the ditch there is a pretty large Garden, at all times full of flowers and green apriocks, which together with those great walls all red, maketh a very fine sight.

About this Garden is the greate Street, or rather the great Place Royal, to which the two great and principle Gates of the Fortress do answer, and to these Gates the two chief streets of the town.

## 8 Dehli and Agra capital

In this great place it is, where the Tents of the *Rajas* are, that are in the Kings pay, to keep there every one in his turn their weekly guard; 58 whereas the *Omrahs* and the *Mansabdars*, or small *Omrahs*, keep it within the Fortrefs. These little Soverains are not pleased to see themselves thus and so long shut up in a Fort.

In this very place it is, where at the break of day are exercised the Horses of a long Royal Stable, near it. And here tis also, that the *Kobat-kan*, or great Commissionen of the Cavalry, carefully vieweth the Horses of those Cavaliers, that have been received into service, to the end that if these horses are of *Turkistan*, or *Tartary*, and large and strong enough for service, the Kings mark, and that of the *Omrahs*, under whom such Cavaliers are to be listed, may be branded upon them: A thing not ill devised, to prevent the mutual loan of horses in the vanfers.

This same Place is also a kind of *Bazar*, or Market, of an hundred things

things sold there, and a Rendezvous of Players, and Juglers of all sorts, as the *Pont-neuf* at *Paris*. It is no less the meeting-place of the poor *Astrologers*, as well Mahumetan as *Heathen*.

These Doctors (forsooth) sit there in the Sun upon a piece of tapestry, all covered with dust, having about them some old Mathematical Instruments, which they make shew of to draw passengers, and a great open Book representing the Animals of the *Zodiack*. These men are the Oracles, but rather the Affronters of the vulgar, to whom they pretend to give, for one *Payssa*, that is, a penny, good Luck; and they are they, that looking upon the hands and the face, turning over their Books, and making a shew of Calculation, determine the fortunate moment when a business is to be begun to make it successful.

The mean women, wrapt up in a white sheet from head to foot, come to find them out, telling them in their ear their most secret concerns, as if they were their Confessors, and (which

b. 65



(which smells very strongly of stupidity and folly) intreat them to render the Stars propitious to them suitable to their designs; as if they could absolutely dispose of their Influences.

The most ridiculous of all these Astrologers, in my opinion, was that mongrel Portuguese, fugitive from Goa, who sat in that place with much gravity upon his piece of tapestry, like the rest, and had a great deal of custome, though he could neither write nor read, and as for Instruments and Books, was furnished with nothing else but an old Sea-Compass, and an old Romish Prayer-Book in the Portuguese language, of which he shewed the Pictures for Figures of the Zodiack: *Atal Bestias, tal Astrologo*: For such Beasts, such Astrologer, said he to the Reverend Father Buze, a Jesuite, who met him in that place.

I here speak only of the pittiful Astrologers of the Bazar; for there are others in these parts, that are in the Courts of the Grandeess, and are considered as great Clerks, and are very rich;

rich ; whole *Asia* being overspread with this Superstition. The Kings and the great Lords, who would not undertake the least things without consulting them, allow them great salaries, that they may read to them what is written in the Heavens, (for so they speak here) and take out for them that fortunate moment, I was lately speaking of ; or find out, at the opening of the *Alcoran*, the decision of all their doubts. b. 61  
63: b.

To return ; these two principal Streets, which I said do answer to the two Gates of the Fortress, and to the Place, may have twenty five or thirty common paces in breadth, and they run in a straight line as far as you are able to see : Yet that which leads to the Gate of *Lahor*, is much longer then the other ; but they are both alike as to the Houses. There is on both sides nothing but Arches ; as in our *Place Royal* ; yet with this difference, that they are but of bricks, and that there is not any building upon them, but only the terrass. There is also

also this difference, that they are not continued Galleries. These Arches are generally severed by railes that make shops which are not to be shut, where trades-men work in the day, where Bankers sit for their business, and where Merchants set out their wares, which at night they lock up in a magazin, the little door of which, to be shut, is in the bottom of every Arch.

It is upon this Magazin, which is in the back-part of the Arches, that the houses of Merchants are built and raised, which make a shew good enough towards the Street, and are also pretty convenient, being well aired, out of the way of the dust, and having for their floor the terrasses of the Arches, upon which they can walk to look out upon the Street, and to sleep at night in *fresco*. But excepting these houses of the chief streets, and a few others, there are not many of these fair houses, that are thus raised upon terrasses; nor are even these two streets universally furnisht with them, there

there being mostly upon the Magazin, or on the side, nothing but a small building, not seen from the street, the great Merchants having their houses somewhere else, whither they retire at night.

Besides these *two* principal streets, there are yet *five* others, which indeed are not so long nor so streight, but for the rest are altogether like them. There are also a great many other streets crossing those on all sides, whereof there are also some furnished with Arches; but because they have been built piece-meal by such particular persons, as have not observed the simmetry that was requisite, they are, for the most part, neither so large nor so streight, nor so well built as the others.

Amongst all these streets are spread every where the houses of the *Mansab-dars*, or little *Omrahs*, and those of the men of the Law, as also of many great Merchants, and other private men; of which there is a good number that are passable. It is true, there

are



14 Dehli and Agra capital

are but few that are all of brick or stone, and there is even a good number of these, that are made all of earth only, and thatched; but for all that, they are convenient, because they are generally airy, being furnished with courts and gardens. Nor are they disagreeable within, forasmuch as besides the fine moveables, these thatched coverings are supported by a layer of certain long canes, that are hard and strong, and very pretty, and because also these earthen walls are plastered over with very fine and very white chalk.

Amongst these houses I have been speaking of, that are tolerable, there is also a prodigious number of other small ones, that are only made up of earth and straw, where all the simple Cavaliers, and their Servants, and all those little people of the Market, that follow the Court and the Army are lodged.

It is from these thatched houses that Dehli is so subject to fires. This last year there were burnt above sixty thou-

thousand such, at two or three times that they took fire, when there blew certain impetuous winds, that rise chiefly in Summer. The fire was so quick and so violent, that it surprised the houses, and many horses also that could not be time enough loosened; and there were even some of these poor women burnt, that never had been out of the Seraglio, and that are so weak and shamefaced when they see people, that they know nothing else but to hide their faces.

And it is upon the account of these pittiful houses of earth and straw, that I look upon Dehli almost no otherwise then as many Villages joyned together, and (which I have already said in another place) as a Camp of an Army, a little better and more commodiously placed, then in the Field.

As to the houses of the Omrahs, that are also up and down in this City, and principally upon the River, and even in the Suburbs: You are to know that in these hot Countries, to entitle an House to the name of Good and Fair,

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Fair, it is required it should be commodious, seated in a place well aired, and capable to receive the wind from all sides, and principally from the North; having courts, gardens, trees, conservatories, and little-jets of waters in the halls, or at least at the entry; furnished also with good cellars with great flaps to stir the air, for reposing in the fresh air from twelve till four or five of the clock, when the air of these cellars begins to be hot and stuffing: or having in lieu of cellarage certain *Kas-kanays*, that is, little houses of straw, or rather of odoriferous roots, that are very neatly made, and commonly placed in the midst of a *parterre* near some conservatory, that so the servants may easily, with their Pompion-bottles, water them from without. Moreover it is required for the beauty of an house, that it be seated in the midst of some great *parterre*, that it have four great divans or ways raised from the ground to the height of a man, or thereabout, and exposed to the four parts of the World, to receive

ceive the wind and the cold from all the parts it may come from. Lastly, it is requisite for a good House to have railed *Terrasses*, to sleep upon in the night, such as are of the same floor with some great chamber, to draw in ones bed-stead upon occasion; that is to say, when there comes some tempest of rain or dust, or when that rousing freshness of the break of day awakens you, and obliges you to look for a covering: or else when you apprehend that small and light dew of the morning, which pierceth, and causeth sometimes benumbing and paralytical symptoms in the limbs.

As to the interior part of an House, it is requisite that the whole floor be covered with a matter of cotton four inches thick, covered with a white fine linnen sheet during Summer, and with a piece of silk tapestry in Winter: That in the most conspicuous part of the chamber, near the wall, there be one or two cotton Quilts, with fine flowered coverings, and set about with small and fine em-

B

broide-



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broidery of Silk, wrought with Gold and Silver, for the Master of the House, or Persons of quality coming in, to sit upon; and that every Quilt have its cross Board, purfled with Gold, to lean upon: that round about the Chamber, along the walls, there be several of these cross Boards, as I just now mentioned, handsomely covered with Velvet or flowred Sattin, for by-standers also to lean upon. The Walls five or six foot from the floor, must be almost all with *Niches*, or little Windows, cut in an hundred different manners, or shapcs, very fine, well measured and proportioned to one another, with some porcelain vessels and flower-pots in them; and the ground must be painted and gilded, yet without any figure of man or beast, their Religion not allowing thereof.

This is as near as I know, the Idea of a handsome and convenient House in these parts: And as there is a good number of them in *Dehli*, that have all these qualities mentioned, or at least

in

in part, according to which they are more or less fair and gallant: I believe one may say, without any injury to our Towns, that *Dehli* is not without Houses that are truly handsome, although they be not like ours in *Europe*.

Concerning the Appearance and Riches of the Shops, (which is the thing that contributeth most to the beauty of our Towns in *Europe*) although *Dehli* be the seat of a very potent and magnificent Court, and consequently the resort of infinite quantities and varieties of rich wares; yet we are not to imagine, that you shall finde there our streets of *St. Denis*; I know not whether there be any such in all *Asia*. And even as to the most fine and the most rich stuffs, they are commonly but in the Magazines, their shops are not furnisht with them: So that for one shop that maketh any shew, that is, where there are sold those fine sorts of Linnen, those stuffs of Silk streaked with Gold and Silver, Cloth of Gold, Turbans embroidered

ed with Gold, and other commodities of great price; you shall always find five and twenty and more, that are filled with nothing but Pots of Oyl and Butter, and Panniers one upon another full of Rice, Barley, Pease, Corn, and many other sorts of Grain and Legume; which are the ordinary food not only of all the Gentiles, that never eat any meat, but also of the meaner sort of the Mahumetans, and of a good part of those of the Soul-diery.

It is true that there is a Fruit-market that maketh some shew. One may there see in Summer abundance of shops full of dry fruit, that come out of *Persia, Balk, Bokara, and Samarkand*, as Almonds, Pistaches, small Nuts, Raisins, Prunes, Apricocks, and the like. And in Winter there are found excellent raisins fresh, black and white, brought from the same Countries, well wrapt up in cotton; also Apples and Peares of three or four sorts, and of these admirable Melons that last all Winter. But all this fruit

fruit is very dear; I have seen Melons sold even for a Crown and an half a piece. And they are indeed the great delicacy and expence of the *Omrabs*. I have often seen in the house of my *Aga*, that there was eaten in Melons in one morning for more then twenty Crowns. There are none but the Melons of the Country that are cheap in Summer, but those are not so good. The Grandees only, that take care to send for seed out of *Persia*, and to get the ground well fitted for them, may eat good ones; yet that but rarely neither, the ground being not so proper but that the seed degenerateth the very first year.

It is true, there is yet another fruit called *Amba*, or *Mangue*, which in its season, during two Summer months, is found in great plenty and very cheap; but those of *Dehli* are none of the best, being very loose and flashy: those of *Bengala*, *Golkonda*, and *Goa* are admirable. It hath a certain sweetness so peculiar, that I doubt whether there be any comfit in the world so



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pleasant. There are also Pateques, or Water-Melons in abundance, and almost all the year long; but they also do not thrive well at *Dehli*; they never have their meat so ruddy, firm and sugery; and if there be any good, they are not to be found but amongst the Great ones, who take the pains of making them grow as Melons, with extraordinary care and cost.

There be also up and down in *Dehli* Shops of Comfit-makers; but all their Comfits are very ill done, being full of dust and flies.

There are besides many Shops of Bread every where, but because they have no Ovens like ours, it is never well baked: yet in the Fortress there is sold some that is reasonably good; and the Omrahs cause such to be made in their Houses that is very delicate, sparing no new Butter, Milk, nor Eggs: yet though they leaven it, it is always much inferior in goodness to our Bread of *Gonesse*, and to those other sorts of excellent Bread of *Paris*,

ris, it favoring always of the Cake or Simnel.

In these Bazars there are also some Tents, where they trade in Roast meat, and in dressing I know not how many sorts of dishes; but all that is but beggerly, nasty, and ill meat. I fear you sometimes meet with the flesh of Camels, Horses, or Oxen dead of sickness: I do not much trust them; so that if you will eat any thing worth eating, you must have it dressed at home.

There are also many Shops every where where they sell flesh; but you must take heed, least they give you Mutton for Kid; the Mutton and Beef, but especially Mutton, though well enough tasted, being here very hot, windy, and of ill digestion. The best meat here is young Kid, but it is very rarely sold in the Market by Quarters; so that if you have a mind to eat any, you must buy a whole and a live one; which is inconvenient enough, because the Meat is spoiled between one morning and evening,

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and is commonly so lean, that it is tasteless. Ordinarily you find in the Shambles nothing but the quarters of great Kids, which often also are very lean and hard. It is true, that since I have learned something of the manner of the Country, I find both Meat and Bread good enough, because I send my Servant to the Fortrefs to the Kings Caterers, who are very ready to let him have what is good for good payment, though it cost them nothing. And it was in reference to this, that one day I made my *Agab* smile; when I told him that I had I know not how many years lived by artifice and stealing, and that for all the 150. Crowns pay he monthly allowed me, I was ready to be starved; whereas in *France* for half a Roupie, I could every day eat as good a bit of meat as the King.

They have no Capons, all that people being too tender-hearted towards all Animals but Men, whom they need for their *Seraglias*. But the Markets are full of Hens, that are very good and

and cheap: Among the rest there is one sort of little ones, that I called Æthiopian Hens, because they have their skin black like the Æthiopians, which are very tender and very delicate.

Pidgeons there are, but no young ones, because they will not kill them young; they would be (say they) too small, and it were ill done to kill such poor little Animals.

There are also Partridges, but smaller then ours, and generally (seeing they bring them afar off alive, knowing how to take them with nets) they are worse then our Pullets. The like may be said of their Ducks and Hares, of which they also bring whole cages full alive.

Concerning Fish, the People here are no great Fish-Mongers; yet at times one meets with very good Fish, especially of two sorts, the one resembleth our Pike, and the other our Carp; but that is only when it is not cold, for the Indians fear that much more then we Europeans apprehend heat. And if at any time you meet ac-  
ci-



cidentally with any of the Eunuchs, who love them excessively (I know not why) carry them presently away. None but the Omrahs have power to make men fish when they please, which they do with the *korrah*, that great common whip, alwayes hanging at their gates.

From all that I have said, you may by the by see, whether a man ought to leave *Parr* to come to *Dehli* to make good cheer. Certainly the *Grandeess* have all things, but that is upon the account of their many Servants, of the *Korrah*, and of the plenty of money. And thence it was I once said, that at *Dehli* there is no *wean*; there you must either be a great Lord, or live miserably: for I have experienced it my self, in a manner dying of hunger this good while, though I have had considerable pay, and was resolved to spare nothing that way, because commonly there is found nothing in the Markets but the refuse of the *Grandeess*. Besides that, the soul of a Feast which is good Wine,

is not there; not that no Grapes do grow there to make wine, (for I have drunk some at *Amadevad* and *Golkonda*, in the houses of English Men and *Hollanders*, that was not ill) but because it is prohibited to make Wine, in regard that not only by the Law of Mahomet, but also by that of the Heathen, it is not permitted to drink any: So that it is very rare to finde Wine, and that which we find comes out of *Persia* from *Ghiras* by land to *Banderabassy*, from thence by sea to *Suratte*, and from *Suratte* hither by land in forty six days: or it comes from the *Canaries*, brought also over sea to *Suratte* by the Dutch. And both are so dear, that the cost (as the saying is) maketh it lose the taste; for a Bottle holding about three Parisian pints cometh often to six or seven Crowns, and more. That which is of this Countreys growth is called *Arac*, a strong water made of Sugar not refined, and even this is expressly prohibited to be sold, and there are none but Christians that dare drink of it,

ex-

except others do it by stealth. This is  
a drink very hot and penetrant, like  
the Brandy made of Corn in Poland.  
 It so falls upon the nerves, that it of-  
 ten causeth shaking hands in those that  
 drink a little too much of it, and casts  
 them into incurable maladies. Here  
 we must accustom our selves to fair  
 and good Water, and to Lemonade,  
 which is excellent, and may be made  
 with small charges, and doth not spoil  
 the stomach. But to say all, a man  
 hath no great inclination, in such hot  
 Countries as these to drink wine; and  
 I am willing notice should be here ta-  
 ken together with me, that the absti-  
 nence from wine in these parts, joyn-  
 ed to the general sobriety of the na-  
 tifs, and to the sweats and perpetual  
 transpiration made by the pores, are  
 the cause (in my opinion) that we al-  
 most know not what is the Gout, the  
 Stone, Aches of the Kidneys, Rheuma-  
 tisme, Quartans; and that those that  
 bring any of these sicknesses hither, as  
 I did, are at length totally freed from  
 them: and further, that the Pox it  
 self,

self, though very frequent, is not so cruel nor so pernicious here as in *Europe*: so that people generally live here more healthfully then with us. But then on the other hand, there is not so much vigor here in people, as in our cold climat; and this feebleness and languor of body is a kind of perpetual malady, very troublesome to all, especially in the great heats of Summer, and especially to the *Europeans*, whose bodies are not yet mured to heat.

As for Shops of excellent Handy-Craftsmen, that is also a thing we must not look for here: all we find is but very little; not that the *Indians* have not wit enough to make them successful in Arts, they doing very well (as to some of them) in many parts of *Indin*, and it being found that they have inclination enough for them, and that some of them make (even without a Master) very pretty workmanship, and imitate so well our work of *Europe*, that the difference thereof will hardly be discerned. I have seen amongst them even of our kinde of  
Guns,



Guns, very fine and very good; and pieces of Gold-smiths work so well done; that I doubt whether in *Europe* they could be made better. I have also seen in Picture and Miniature such curious and delicate pieces, that I admired them. Amongst others, I have seen the combats of Eckhar, represented upon a Buckler by a famous Painter, who was said to have been seven years working at it; which seemed to me an admirable piece of work. It is manifest, that they want nothing but good Masters, and the precepts of Art to give them just proportions; and above all, that life of the face; to which they have not yet been able to attain. The reason therefore why in the shops of *Dehli* there are rarely found good Handy-Craftsmen, is not want of wit; but contempt of the Workmen, who are ill treated, and whose work is debased to too low a price. If some *Omrah*, or *Mansebdar*, will have any thing made by a Workman of the *Bazar*, he will send for him, and make him work in a manner by

by force, and afterwards pay him as he pleaseth; and the man will think himself happy too, if in part of payment he receive not the *Korrah*. What heart then can a poor Workman have to take pains to succeed in his workmanship? He considers nothing but to dispatch his work, thereby to earn something to put bread into his mouth. So that if there be any of them that succeed, they are of those whom the great Lords entertain in their service, and that work only for them. b:173.

Touching the things within the Fortrefs, where are the *Seraghia*, and some other Royal Edifices, you must not look for a *Lecture*, or an *Estuarial*; those Buildings do not resemble ours, nor by what I have said, ought they to resemble them: it is enough that they have that stateliness, which is proper to the climat. b:174.

I find nothing remarkable at the entry, but two great Elephants of stone, which are on the two sides of one of the Gates. Upon one of them is the statue of *James*, that famous Raja  
wollor Raja

Raja of Chitar, and upon the other,  
 that of Palia his Brother. These are  
 those two gallant Men; that together  
 with their Mother, who was yet bra-  
 ver then they; out so much work for  
Eckbar; and who in the Sieges of  
 Towns, which they maintained a-  
 gainst him, gave such extraordinary  
 proofs of their generosity, that at  
 length they would rather be killed  
 in the last falls with their Mother,  
 then submit: and for this gallantry  
 it is, that even their enemies thought  
 them worthy to have these Statues  
 erected for them. These two great  
 Elephants, together with the two re-  
 solute Men sitting on them, do at the  
 first entry into this Fort make an  
 impression of I know not what great-  
 ness and awful terror.  
 21 After you have passed this Gate,  
 you finde a long and large Street, di-  
 vided into two by a Channel of run-  
 ning Water, and having on both sides,  
 as our Pont-neuf, a long raised wall  
 five or six foot high, and four broad;  
 and farther off some arches that, that  
 follow

follow one another all along in the form of Gates. It is upon this long raised place that those Clerks, Controllers, and other small Officers sit to do their Office, without being incommoded by the Horses and People that pass along beneath. And it is there also where the *Manseb-dars*, or little Omrahs, are at night to keep the guard. The Water of the Channel runneth dividing it self through the whole *Seraglio*; and at length falleth into the ditches to fill them. It is drawn out of the River by a Channel opened five or six leagues above *Dehli*, and conveyed cross the field, and that through some rocks that have cost great pains to be cut in divers places. And this is very near what may be seen at the entry into one of the two principal Gates, that answer to the great Piazza.

If you enter at the other Gate, you also finde presently a pretty long and large Street, having its risings on the sides as the other, together with Shops upon them in lieu of the Arches. This

C

Street



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Street is properly a *Bazar*, which is very commodious during the season of the rains and summer, because it is covered by a long and large vault, which hath on the top great openings to let in light.

Besides these two Streets, there are many other small ones on the right and left hand, that lead to the apartments, where the *Omrahs* keep their guard, each in his turn, once a week, for twenty four hours. These places are stately ones for *Corps de Gardes*, the *Omrahs* striving to beautifie them at their own charges. These are ordinarily great raised places respecting a *parterre*, that hath its little channels of running water, small conservatories and jets of water. The *Omrahs* during the twenty four hours of guard, take no care for their table, the King sending them all their meat ready dressed, and they being but to receive it, as they do, with very much ceremony and respect, making three obeysances of thanks, by elevating  
 b: 150 their hand upon their head, and bow-  
 ing

ing down to the ground, their face turned toward the King.

There are also found many raised Walks and Tents in sundry places, that are the Offices of several Officers. Besides, there are many great Halls that are the *Kar-kanays*, or places where Handy-Craftsmen do work. In one of these Halls you shall finde Embroiderers at work, together with their Chief that inspects them; in another you shall see Gold-smiths; in a third Picture-drawers; in a fourth Workmen in Lacca; in others, Joyners, Turners, Taylors, Shooe-makers; in others, Workmen in Silk and purfled Gold, and in all those sorts of fine Cloth, of which they make Turbands, Girdles with golden flowers, and those Drawers of Ladies, that are so fine and delicate, as that sometimes they last them but one night, though they often cost them ten or twelve Crowns, when they are of that fashion, as I have mentioned; I mean enriched with those fine Embroideries of Needle-work.

All these Handy-Crafts-men come in the morning to those *Kar-kanays*, and work there all day long, and at night return to their several homes, every one passing his life quietly, without aspiring above his condition: for the Embroiderer maketh his Son an Embroiderer, the Gold-smith maketh his Son a Gold-smith, and a Physician in a Town maketh his Son a Physician; and no body marrieth but with those that are of his Trade: which is religiously observed, not only among the Heathen that are obliged to it by their Law, but almost always among the Mahometans themselves: Whence it is that you may often see very handsome young Women, that remain unmarried, passing their time as well as they can, though they might meet with good matches, if their Parents would or could marry them into another family, esteemed less noble then their own.

After all these appartments, we  
 51: come at length to the *Am-kas*, which  
 is something very Royal. This is a  
 great

great square Court with Arches, as may be our *Place Royal*: with this difference, that there are no buildings a top, and that the Arches are severed from one another by a Wall, yet so that there is a sma'l Gate to pass from one to the other. Over the great Gate, which is in the middle of one of the sides of this square, there is a large raised place, all open on the side of the Court, which is called *Nagar-kanny*, because that is the place where the Trompets are, or rather the Hoboys and Timbals, that play together in consort at certain hours of the day and night: but this is a very odd consort in the ears of an *European* that is a new comer, not yet accustomed to it: for sometimes there are ten or twelve of those Hoboy's, and as many Timbals, that sound altogether at once; and there is an Hoboy which is called *Karna*, a fathom and an half long, and of half a foot aperture below; as there are Timbals of Brass or Iron, that have no less then a fathom in diameter: whence it is easie to judge what



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what a noise they must needs make. Indeed this Musick in the beginning did so pierce and stun me, that it was unsufferable for me; yet I know not what strange power custome hath, for I now find it very pleasing, especially in the night, when I hear it afar off in my bed upon my Terrasse; then it seemeth to me to carry with it something that is grave, majestical and very melodious. And there is some reason for this melody; for seeing it hath its rules and measures, and that there are excellent Masters taught from their youth to manage it; and perfectly know how to qualifie and temper those strong sounds of the Ho-boys and Timbals, it cannot be otherwise, but they must thence obtain some sympathy that cannot be displeasing to the ear, provided (as I said) that it be heard at a distance. And even for this reason it is, that they have placed the *Nagar-kanay* very high, and remote from the ears of the King, as you will hear by and by.

Over against the great Gate of the  
Court,

Court, upon which is the *Nagar-kamay*, beyond the whole Court, there is a great and stately Hall, with many ranks of pillars high raised, very airy, open on three sides, looking to the Court, and having its pillars and ground painted and gilded. In the midst of the Wall, which separateth this Hall from the *Seraglio*, there is an opening, or a kinde of great window high and large, and so high that a man cannot reach to it from below with his hand: There it is where the King appears seated upon his Throne, having his Sons on his sides, and some Eunuchs standing, some of which drive away the flies with Peacocks-tails, others fan him with great Fans, others stand there ready with great respect and humility for several services. Thence he seeth beneath him all the *Omrahs*, *Rajas*, and *Ambassadours*, who are also all of them standing upon a raised ground encompassed with Silver rails, with their eyes downwards, and their hands crossing their stomachs: somewhat further off he

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seeth the *Mansebdars*, or lesser Omrahs, which are also all standing in the same posture and respect as the Omrahs do: and somewhat further off, in the remaining part of the Hall, and in the Court, he seeth a great crowd of all sorts of People. For there it is where the King every day about noon giveth a general Audience to all; which is the reason that this great Hall is called *Am-kas*, that is, Place of Audience, or a place of meeting common to great and small.

During an hour and an half, or thereabouts, whilst this Assembly lasteth, the King is diverted by seeing pass before him a certain number of the handsomest Horses of his Stables, to see whether they be well dressed, and in good plight. So he doth see a good number of Elephants passing also before him, whose dirty bodies are then well washed and cleansed, and painted black like ink, except that they have two great streakes painted red, which from the top of their head come down to their trunk, where

where they meet. These Elephants have then also certain deekings embroidered with a couple of silver Bells hanging down on the sides, fastened to the two ends of a great silver Chain, passing over their shoulders; as also certain Cow-tails of the great Ti-bet, white and very dear, hanging at their ears like great mustachoes; and two little Elephants well accoutred going by their sides, as if they were their slaves and appointed to serve them. These great Colosses, as if they were proud to see themselves so bravely adorned and attended, march with much gravity; and when they are come before the King, the Conductor that sits upon their shoulders, with a pointed Iron in his hand pricketh them, and speaketh to them, and maketh them bow with one knee, and lift up the trunk into the air and make a noise, which the people take for a Tassim, or deep Salute.

After these Elephants there are brought divers tamed Gazelles, which are made to fight with one another;



as also some Nilganx, or gray Oxen, which in my opinion are a kind of E-  
lands and Rhinoceros, and those great  
Buffalos of Bengala with their prodigious horns to combat with a Lion or Tiger; likewise Leopards, or Panthers tamed, which he useth in the hunting of Gazelles: further, some of those handsome hunting Dogs of Uzbek of all sorts, every one with his little red cover; store of Birds of prey of all kinds, some of which are for Partridges, others for Cranes, others to fall upon Hares, and, as they say, upon the very Gazelles, beating their heads and blinding them with their wings and claws.

Often also one or two of the Omrahs cause at that time to pass their Cavalry for a review before the King: the Omrahs coveting that their horsemen should appear gallant, advantageously decked with extraordinary garments, and their horses trapped with iron, and harnassed with I know not how many different and odd fashions.

The

The King taketh sometimes pleasure himself to cause Cutlases, or short Swords, to be tried upon dead Sheep, brought to him without the bowels, and very neatly packed up, where the young *Omrahs*, *Mansebdars* and *Gourze-berdars*, or Mace-bearers, strive to shew their force and dexterity by cutting asunder the four legs joyned together, and the body of the sheep all in one stroke.

Mean time all these divertisements are nothing but an interlude of serious affairs: for as I have said, the King omits not to make a muster of his Cavalry, and well to view them himself. We have seen, that the war being ended, there is not one Cavalier, nor any other Souldier, but He hath seen him and examined him, either to increase his pay, or to lessen it, or quite to cashier him. Besides it is seen every day, that he commands the Petitions, which are shewed him afar off in the crowd of the people, to be brought to him and to be read: ordering the parties concerned to approach,

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proach, and examining them, and often causing justice to be done them immediately, although he hath the Adalet-kanay, the Chamber of Justice, where he ordinarily is present once a week, attended by his two first Kadys, or Chief Justices; and though also at one other time in the week he hath the patience to hear in private, for the space of two hours, ten persons of the common people, whom a good and rich old man presents to him. Whence it appears (to note that by the by) that those Kings, how barbarous soever esteemed by us, do yet constantly remember, that they owe Justice to their Subjects.

All what I have been relating to you of what is transacted in this Assembly of the Am-kas, seems to me great and royal; but that which hath extremely offended me there, is a kind of Adulation too mean and flat, commonly heard in that place. For the King cannot say a word to any purpose, but he is presently exalted, and some of the first Omrahs lifting up

tip their hands, as if they were to receive some benediction from Heaven, cry out, *Karamat! Karamat! Wonder! Wonder!* Neither is there any Mogolian but he knoweth and glorieth in reciting this Proverb in Persian verse:

*Aguer chachronzra Gonyed cheb est in  
Bubayed Gonst inek mah on peruin.*

*If the King saith at Noon-day, it is Night, you are to say, behold the Moon and the Stars.*

This vice passeth even unto the people. I have seen an hundred times people of Mogol, who having need of me in some business, made no scruple to come and tell me to my face for a preamble, that I was Aristotals, Bocrate, and Abonyfina Ulam; the Aristotle, the Hippocrates, and the Avicenna of the time. At first I endeavored to fence my self against it by this ordinary complement, that I was none such, and was far inferior to the merit of those men; but that made them worse; so that I thought it better to accustom my ears to their flattery, as I have done

to



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to their musick. I cannot forbear imparting to you this little piece of flattery, because *that* will let you see the more how far they carry it. A *Pendet Brachman*, or *Heathen Doctor*, whom I had put to serve my *Agah*, at the entering into his service would needs make his Panegyrick, and after he had compared him to the greatest Conquerors that ever were, and told him an hundred gross and impertinent flatteries, at last concluded seriously with this; *When you put your foot into the stirrup, my Lord, and when you march on horse-back in the front of the Cavalry, the earth trembleth under your feet, the eight Elephants, that hold it up upon their heads, not being able to support it.* I could not hold laughing, and I strove seriously to tell my *Agah*, who could not hold neither, that then he would do well not to go on horse-back but very seldom, to prevent earth-quakes, which often cause so great mischiefs. Who quickly made this repartie with a constrained countenance between serious and smiling:

*And*

*And it is therefore that I cause my self  
ordinarily to be carried in a Palekey.*

But no more of this : from the great Hall of the *Am-kas* one enters into a more retired place, called the *Gofel-kané*, that is, the place to wash in. But few are suffered to enter there; neither is the Court of it so great as that of the *Am-kas* : but the Hall is very handsome, spacious, painted and gilded, and its floor raised four or five foot high. There it is where the King is seated in a chair, his Omrahs standing round about him, and giveth a more particular Audience to his Officers, receiveth their Accompts, and treateth of the most important Affairs of State. All the Omrahs are obliged to be without fail every evening at this Assembly, as in the morning at the *Am-kas*; else something is retrenched of their pay. There is only my Agah *Danechmend-kan*, that because he is a Person of learning, and perpetually busie in studying, or in forain Affairs, is dispensed with, except Wednesday, which is his day of  
being

being upon the guard. These are indispensable customs, and it is very just they should be so in respect of the Omrahs, because they are in a manner so in respect of the King: for he almost never faileth to be at these two Assemblies, unless some urgent affair do supervene, or he be exceeding sick. And we did see, that *Aureng-Zebe*, even  
 b. 10. ii in his last sickness, which was very dangerous, failed not to make himself to be carried thither once a day  
 13. b at least. It is true, he being sick to extremity, that if he had not been seen there, the whole Kingdom would presently have been in disorder, and the Shops shut up in the City.

Whilst the King in this Hall of *Gosle-kanay* is busie, as I was saying, they omit not to let pass before him most of the things that are made to pass at the *Am-kas*. There is only this difference, that this Assembly being held in the evening, and the Court being then less, the review of the Cavalry of the Omrahs is not made, as in the morning at the *Am-kas*: but then there is  
 this

this of particular, that all the *Mansebdars* that are upon the guard do salute the King, and pass before him with ceremony enough; before them marcheth with sufficient pomp that which is called the *Kours*, which are many figures of Silver carried at the end of some great silver sticks, that are very fine and very artificially made; of which there are two that represent two great Fishes, two others that exhibit a phantastick Animal of an horrid figure, by them called *Eiedeha*; others that represent two Lions, others two Hands, others Scales, and many more whereof they make mysteries. Amongst these *Kours* and *Mansebdars*, are mixt many *Gourze-berdars*, or *Mace-bearers*, who are chosen men, tall of stature, and of a good mean (spoken of elsewhere) and appointed to prevent disorders in Assemblies, and to run about with speed to carry the orders, and to execute the commands of the King.

I now wish I could lead you about in the *Seraglio*, as I have done in the

D

rest



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rest of the Fortress: but who is the Traveller that can speak of that as an eye-witness? I have sometimes entred into it when the King was not a *Dehli*; and I think pretty fit, upon the occasion of a great Lady, that was so sick that she could not be carried to the gate, according to custom; but I had always a covering of *Kachemire* over my head, which like a great Scarf hung down to my feet, and an Eunuch conducted me by the hand, like a blind man, so that I cannot particularly describe to you what it is. Only in general I can tell you, according to what I have learnt from some Eunuchs, that in it there are very handsome appartments severed one from another, more or less great and stately, according to the quality and the pensions of the Women; that there is almost no Chamber but it hath at its door a Store-house of running Water; that 'tis full of Parterres, pleasant Walks, shady Places, Rivolets, Fountains, jets of Water, Grotta's, great Caves against the heat of the day,

day, and great Terrasses raised high, and very airy, to sleep upon in the cool: in a word, you there know not what 'tis to be hot. They principally boast of a little Tower respecting the River, being, say they, covered with Plates of Gold, as those two that are at *Agra*, and within all Gold and Azure, very handsome and rich Pictures and Looking-glasses.

This is very near what I can tell you of the Fortress, yet before we leave it, let us return once more to the *Am-kas*. I am now going to re- 36.  
present it to you after the manner I saw it at certain Festivals of the Year, especially at that which was kept after the War for an extraordinary rejoicing; for this is one of the most remarkable things I have seen.

The King appeared sitting upon his Throne, in the bottom of the great Hall of the *Am-kas*, splendidly apparelled. His Velt was of white Sattin powdered, and raised with a very fine embroidery of Gold and Silk. His Turban was of Cloth of Gold, having

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a Fowl wrought upon it like an Heron, whose foot was covered with Diamonds of an extraordinary bigness and price, with a great Oriental Topas, which may be said to be matchless, shining like a little Sun. A Collar of big Pearles hung about his neck down to his stomach, after the manner that some Heathens weare here their great Beads. His Throne was supported by six high Pillars, or Feet, said to be of maslie Gold, and set with Rubies, Emeraulds and Diamonds. I am not able to tell you aright, neither the number nor the price of this heap of precious stones, because it is not permitted to come near enough to count them, and to judge of their water and purity. Only this I can say, that the big Diamonds are there in confusion, and  
 164 b that the Throne is estimated to be worth four Konroures of Roupies, if I remember well. I have said elsewhere, that a Roupie is almost equivalent to half a Crown, a Lecque to an hundred thousand Roupies, and a  
 b. 164 Kon-

*Kourour*, to 100 Lecques : so that the Throne is valued forty millions of Roupies, which are worth about sixty millions of French Livers. *Chah-Jehan*, the Father of *Aureng-Zebe*, is he that caused it to be made, to shew so many precious Stones as successively had been amassed in the Treasury, of the spoils of those antient *Patans* and *Rajas*, and of the presents which the *Omrahs* are obliged to make yearly upon certain Festival days. The Art and Workmanship of this Throne is not answerable to the matter: that which I find upon it best devised, are two Peacocks covered with pretious Stones and Pearls, which are the work of a French Man, called ——— that was an admirable Workman, and that after having circumvented many Princes with his doublets, which he knew how to make admirab'y well, fled unto this Court, where he made his Fortune. Beneath this Throne there appeared all the *Omrahs* in splendid Apparel, upon a raised ground covered with a great Canopy.



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of purfled Gold with great golden Fringes, and inclofed by a ſilver Ba-  
liſtre. The Pillars of the Hall were  
hung with Tapeſtries of purfled  
Gold, having the ground of Gold ;  
and for the roof of the Hall, there was  
nothing but great Canopies of flow-  
red Sattin, faſtened with red ſilken  
Cords, that had big tufts of Silk mixt  
with threads of Gold hanging on  
them. Below there was nothing to be  
ſeen but great ſilken Tapeſtries very  
rich, of an extraordinary length and  
breadth. In the Court there was ſet  
abroad a certain Tent they call the  
*Aſſex*, as long and large as the Hall  
and more. It was joyned to the Hall  
by the upper part, and reached almoſt  
as far as to the middle of the Court ;  
mean time it was all inclofed by a great  
Baſiſtre covered with Plates of Silver.  
It was ſupported by three Pillars, be-  
ing of the thickneſs and height of a  
Barge-maſt, and by ſome leſſer ones,  
and they all were covered with Plates  
of Silver. It was red from without,  
and lined within with thoſe fine *Chit-*

tes,

ter, or Cloth painted by a pencil of *Masipatan*, purposely wrought and contrived with such vivid colours, and flowers so natural drawn of an hundred several fashions and shaps, that one would have said, it were an hanging Parterre. Thus was the great Hall of the *Am-kas* adorned and set out.

As to those arched Galleries, which I have spoken of, that are round about the Court; each *Omrah* had received order to dress one of them at his own charges. And they now striving who should make his own most stately, there was seen nothing but purfled Gold above and beneath, and rich Tappetries under foot.

The third day of the Feast, the King caused himself to be weighed with great ceremony, and after him divers *Omrahs*, in great Scales, and with Weights said to be of massic Gold. I remember that all the *Omrahs* expressed a great joy, that the King weighed two pounds more now than the year preceeding.

Every year there are held such kind of Festivals, but never any was seen done with so much splendour and charge. It is said, that that which induced Aureng-Zebe to celebrate this splendid Feast, was nothing else but to make the Merchants of purfled Gold recover themselves, who had whole Magazins full of it, much spoiled in those four or five years of War, wherein they could not sell them. These expences of the *Omrabs* were great; but the simple Cavaliers paid their share of it, because that the *Omrabs* after the Feast made them take off that commodity to make Vests thereof.

There is an antient custom accompanying these Feasts, which little pleaseth the *Omrabs*: And it is this, that then they are by respect obliged to make some fair presents to the King in proportion of their pay. There are some, that to appear brave, or for fear of being searched for the rapines by them committed in their Offices and Governments; or to purchase the favor of the King, in the hopes of having

having their pensions augmented, make him presents that are extraordinary. Some (which is ordinary enough) do present fine vessels of Gold set with pretious Stones; others present fair Pearls, Diamonds, Emeralds, or Rubies; others (which also is very common) give him, without other ceremony, a quantity of those pieces of Gold, that are worth about a Pistol and an half. I remember, that *Aureng-Zebe*, being gone to visit (during this great Festival) his Visir *Jaser-kan*, not as Visir, but as a Kinsman, and under the pretence of desiring to see a piece of building, which he had caused to be raised anew, *Jaser-kan* presented him in these pieces of Gold, with the value of an hundred thousand Crowns, some good Pearls, and one Ruby valued forty thousand Crowns; but which *Chah-Jehan*, who was admirably well skild in Jewels, discovered not to be worth five hundred Crowns; the which perplexed the first Jewellers exceedingly, that had been deceived therein.

There



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There is another thing sometimes attending these Feasts, which is odd enough: And that is a kind of Fair, then held in the *Mehale*, or the Kings *Seraglio*. The Women of the *Omrahs* and of the great *Manjeb-dars*, or little *Omrahs* (I mean those that are the handsomest and the most gallant) are the *She-Merchants* that keep the Fair, and sell commodities; the King is the Merchant that buyeth, as also all those *Begums* or Princesses, and other great Ladies of the *Seraglio*. The Wares are fine purfled Gold, or rich Embroideries of the new fashion, some rich Ribbons well wrought upon Cloth of Gold, or some pieces of that fine Cloth which is worn by the great Ladies, and other such Merchandize of great price. If they have ever a handsome Daughter, they forget not to bring her along with them to let the King see her, and so make her known to those *Begums*. The jest of this Fair is, that the King comes to bargain with those *She-Merchants*, like a petty Merchant, penny by penny,

ny, contesting that they are not in earnest, that it is too dear, that he will give no more then so much; that the Merchandize of such an one is far better, and the like. The Women, on the other hand, do their best to make good their part, and without considering that 'tis the King, (which is the best of the sport) they contend and stand upon their price, till sometimes they come to high words, as that that is to be a Merchant of snow, (one of their phrales) that he understands nothing in the matter of wares, that he may go to another place, that that commodity is not for him, &c. The *Begums* do the like, or worse, for they sometimes fall to downright railing, so that there is such a cry and noise, and boufonnery, that it cannot be paralleld. But when any price is agreed on, who ever buyeth on this or that side, the King payeth, and the *Begums* pay, all with ready money: and it also falls out often enough, that the King and the *Begums*, instead of Silver Roupies, let slide (in favor of the

the handsome She-Merchant, or her  
 Daughter) some Roupies of Gold, as if  
 it were by mistake, and without taking  
 notice of any thing. The She-Mer-  
 chants also take it in like manner, all  
 passeth with expressions of rallery and  
 gallantry. *Chah-Jehan*, who did not  
 hate the sex, would still multiply this  
 Fair, and have it at all Festival days,  
 though he knew it did not very well  
 please some *Omrabs*. But there is one  
 thing, which to me seems to be a little  
 too extravagant; which is, that the  
 publick Women, I mean not those of  
 the *Bazar*, but those more retired and  
 considerable ones, that go to the great  
 marriages in the houses of the *Omrah*s  
 and *Mansab-dars* to sing and dance,  
 those that are called *Kenchers*, as if  
 you should say, the *gilded*, the *blis-*  
*soming* ones; that those, I say, did also  
 enter in the time of *Chah-Jehan* into  
 the *Seraglio* at such Fairs, and there  
 passed even the whole night in sing-  
 ing and dancing. These are not of that  
 sort which prostitute themselves pro-  
 miscuously to all; and they are most  
 of

of them handsome and well apparelled, and excellent singers and dancers, after the mode of the Country, surprising in the suppleness of their body, and the nimbleness of their motions, yet in the upshot of the rank of publick Women. *Chah-Jehan* was not content only to have them come to the Seraglio at those Feasts, but when they came to salute him, according to that antient custome that obligeth them to come every Wednesday to do obeysance to the King in the *Am-kas*, he often made them enter there, and to pass all night with him in such sports and boufonries. *Aureng-Zebe* is more serious, he suffers them not to come into the Seraglio; he permits only (not to abrogate the custome) that they may ordinarily come every Wednesday to give him the *Salam*, or Salute, in the *Am-kas*, at a distance, but they must presently return home again.

But since we are upon these Feasts and Fairs, and speak of these *Kenchens*, what hurt were it if I should tell



⑥ tell you a story to make you merry,  
 of one of our French Men; since *Plu-*  
*tarch* is of opinion, that little things  
 are not always to be passed by, and  
 that they often mind us more of the  
 genius and temper of men then the  
 greatest. This French Man called *Ber-*  
*nard*, was at this Court about the  
 latter years of King *Jehan-Guire*. He  
 must needs have been some good Phy-  
 sician, and withal excellent in *Chirur-*  
*gery*, according to the relations that  
 are made of him. He was welcome to  
*Jehan-Guire*, and became very fami-  
 liar with him, to that degree that they  
 drank and debauched together. Nor  
 did this *Jehan-Guire* ever think on  
 any thing, but a good cup and mer-  
 riment, leaving the management of  
 the State to his Wife, the renowned  
*Nour-Mehale*, or *Nour-Jehan-Begum*,  
 which he used to say, had wit enough  
 to govern the Empire without his  
 giving himself any trouble about it.  
 Besides that this our Country-man had  
 of the King ten Crowns dayly pay;  
 he gained yet more by treating those  
 great

great Ladies of the Seraglio, and the grand Omrahs, that all made use of him, and presented him who could best, because he was both successful in his Cures, and extraordinarily favored by the King: But he was a man that could keep nothing, what he received with one hand, he at the same time gave away with the other, so that he was known and loved by all, especially by those Kenobens, upon whom he made great expences, having always a set of them that passed the night at his house in singing and dancing. Mean time he chanced to fall in love with one of these Women that was young and beautiful, and danced exceedingly well; but the Mother apprehending least the Daughter, by prostituting her self, should lose her strength and vigor (as it will fall out) would not let her go out of her sight: so that Bernard could never finde any other way to compass his ends but this. One day when the King made him a Present in the Am-kas, before all the Omrahs, for a considerable Cure

he

he had done in the Seraglio, he very  
 submissively gave his Majesty thanks,  
 waving the Present, but instead of it,  
 begged this favour of him, that he  
 would vouchsafe to give him this  
 young *Kencheny*, which he was amo-  
 rous of, and which stood behind him,  
 ready to make the usual obeysance to  
 the King. The whole Assembly brake  
 out into laughter to see him wave the  
 Present, and to hear him make so ri-  
 diculous a demand, he being a Chri-  
 stian, and the Woman a Mahometan,  
 and a *Kencheny*. But *Jehan - Guire*;  
 who never troubled his head much  
 with Mahometanism, and could not  
 hold laughing aloud, presently com-  
 manded that this young Woman  
 should be given him, saying, Lay her  
 on his shoulders, and let him carry  
 her away. So said, so done; and in  
 the presence of the whole Assembly  
 this *Kenchen* was put on *Bernard's*  
 back, who went away thus charged,  
 and carried her to his house.

I cannot forbear giving you here  
 an account of a divertisement, which  
 usually

usually these Feasts end with, and which is unknown to us in *Europe*: And that is the combat of the Elephants, which the King, the Ladies of the Court, and the Omirahs do behold from several appartments of the Fortrefs, and which is shewn before all the people in this great sandy place which looks to the River.

They raise a wall of earth three or four foot broad, and five or six foot high. The two Elephants that are to fight, meet one another face to face, one on the one side of the wall, the other on the other, each having two Riders upon him, that so, if the first, who sits on his shoulders (having a great pointed iron in his hand, to turn the Beast on the right or left hand) should fall, the other, who sits backward, may cast himself into his place. These four Riders or Guides, do animate their Elephants to the combat, and vigorously to fall upon their enemy, now flattering them, and by and by chiding them as cowards, and very rudely kicking them with their heels.

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After



After they have been a good while  
 thus chafed and pusht on, then you  
 shall see these two bulky masses  
 come to the wall, and bluntly assault  
 one another, and give such cruel  
 blows with their teeth, head and  
 trunk, that you would think they  
 would soon strike one another dead.  
 This fight continues a while, then  
 ceaseth, and begins afresh several  
 times, until the mud-wall being over-  
 thrown, the stoutest of the two pas-  
 seth upon the other, maketh him turn  
 his back, pursueth him with blows  
 of his teeth and trunk, and gets such  
 an holdfast upon him, that there is  
 no means of separating them, except  
 it be with the *Cherkys*, that is, certain  
 artificial fires cast betwixt them, this  
 Animal being very fearful of fire:  
 whence it comes, that since Fire-arms  
have been used in Armies, Elephants  
do almost no good at all. It is true in-  
 deed, that some of those brave ones  
 that come out of Ceilan, are not so ti-  
 merous; but that is not till they have  
 been whole years accustomed to it,  
 by

by discharging every day Muskets before them, and by casting squibs between their legs. Mean time, this conflict of the Elephants would be no such displeasing sight, if it were not so cruel, it often happening, that some of those poor Guides are trod under foot and perish: for the Elephants in the combat have this malice, that they strive above all things to strike with their trunk, and to pull down the conductor of their adversary; and thence it is, that on the day when these poor Riders know they are to make the Elephants fight, they bid farewell to their Wives and Children, as if they were condemned to death. That which encourages and comforts them, is, that if they escape and quit themselves well of their duty, the King increaseth their pay, and commands a sack of *Peyssas*, which amounts to about fifty French Livres, to be forthwith given them; or if they be killed upon the spot, he orders that pay to be made to the Widow, and the Office to be given to his Son, if he have

E 2

"have any. There is another mischief,  
 "which often accompanieth this com-  
 bat; which is, that in this great throng  
 there are always some persons over-  
 thrown by the Elephant, or trod un-  
 der foot by the Horses and People,  
 that on a sudden run away all at once,  
 and fall one upon another, when the  
 Elephants are enraged, and the one  
 pursueth the other, so that then one  
 cannot at any nearness look on but  
 with danger. For my part, the second  
 time I saw it, I did sufficiently repent  
 for having approached so nigh, and  
 if I had not had a good Horse, and  
 two good Servants, I believe I should  
 have paid for my curiosity as dear as  
 others.

But 'tis time we should leave the  
 Fortrefs, and return into the City,  
 there to observe to you two things I  
 had forgot. The first is the great *Mos-  
 quee*, seen afar off in the midst of the  
 Town, standing upon a rock, flatted  
 to build upon, and to make round  
 about a large place for four long and  
 fair Streets to end upon, and answer-  
 ing

ing to the four sides of the Mosque, viz. one to the principal Gate, or Frontispiece, another behind that, and the two others to the two Gates that are in the middle of the two remaining sides. To come to the Gates, there are twenty five or thirty steps of fair and large Stones going round about, except the back-part, which is covered with other great Quarry-stones to cover the unevenness of the cut Rock: which contributes much to make this Fabrick make a shew. The three Entries are stately, there is nothing but Marble, and their large Gates are covered with Copper Plates exceedingly well wrought. Above the principal Gate, which is much statelier then the two others, there are many small Turrets of white Marble as well without as within; that in the middle is much bigger and higher then the two others. All the rest of the Mosque, I mean from these three Domes unto the great Gate, is without covering, because of the heat of the Country; and the whole pave-



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ment is of large squares of Marble. I grant willingly, that this structure is not according to the rules and orders of Architecture, which we esteem is indispensably to be followed; yet I observe nothing in it that offends the eye; but rather find all to be well contrived, and well proportioned; And I do even believe, that if in *Paris* we had a Church of this way of Architecture, it would not be disliked, if there were nothing else in it but that 'tis of an extraordinary and surprising aspect, and because that, excepting the three great Domes and all the Turrets, which are of white Marble it appears all red, as if all were nothing else but great Tables of red Marble, though it be nothing else but a stone very easie to cut, and which even flaketh off in time. I shall add by the by, that if it be true what is said of the quarries of this stone, 'tis remarkable, that it grows again every year; whether it be by a petrescent water yearly filling it, or otherwise, I decide not.

This

This Mosque it is to which the King repaireth every Friday (which is the Sunday of the Mahumerans) to pay his devotion. Before he goes out of the Fortres, the Streets he is to pass, are constantly watered because of the heat and dust. Two or three hundred Musquetiers are to stand and make a lane about the Gate of the Fortres, and as many more on the sides of a great Street that ends at the Mosque. Their Musquets are small, but well wrought, and they have a kind of Scarlet-case with a little streamer upon them. Besides there must be five or six Cavaliers well mounted ready at the Gate, and ride at a good distance before the King, for fear of raising dust; and their office is to keep off the people. Things being thus prepared, the King is seen to come out of the Fortres seated upon an Elephant richly harnassed, under a Canopy with Pillars painted and gilded; or else on a Throne shining of Gold and Azure, upon two beams, covered with Scarlet or purpled Gold, carried by

eight chosen and well accoutred men. The King is followed by a body of Omrahs, some of which are on horse-back, some in a *Palekey*. Among these Omrahs there are many *Manseb-dars*, and Mace-Bearers, such as I have before spoken of. And though this be not that splendid and magnificent Proceſſion, or rather Maſcarade of the Grand Seignior, ( I have no properer name for it ) nor the warlike order of our Kings, it being altogether of another fashion, yet for all that there is something great and royal in it.

The *other* thing I had forget to acquaint you with, is an Edifice in the City, called the *Karvansarah* of the Princess; the renowned *Begum-Sahib*, eldest Daughter of *Chah-Jehan*, having caused it to be built at her charges, and willing to contribute something to the decoration of the Town, as all the Omrahs strove to do to please *Chah-Jehan*. This is another great Square, arched like our *Place-Royal*, but still with this difference, that one Arch is separate from the other by a wall

wall, and that in the bottom of every Arch there is a little Chamber; and besides that, above the Arches there is a Gallery which rangeth round about the building, to enter into as many high Chambers, as there are below. This Place is the Rendezvous of all the great Merchants, *Persians*, *Usbecks*, and other Strangers that ordinarily do ~~there~~ finde empty Chambers convenient enough, to stay in for some time in great safety, the Gate being shut every night. If there were a score of such Structures in divers parts of *Paris*, Strangers newly arriving would not be in that trouble, as often they are to find safe Lodgings; for ~~there~~ they might be until they had seen their Acquaintance, and looked for good Accommodation: besides that they would serve for Magazins of all sorts of Commodities, and for the Rendezvous of all Merchants Strangers.

Before we leave *Dehli*, I shall add a few lines in reference to this question, which doubtless you'll make,

*viz.*



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*viz.* Whether in *Dehli* there be as much People and Gallantry as at *Paris*? Certainly when I consider those three or four Cities of *Paris* that are one above another, all those Chambers and other Rooms full from top to bottom; when I farther consider that incredible throng and confusion of Men and Women, of Horse-men, and Passengers on foot, of Chariots, Sedans and Coaches, and that there are but few great Piazzas and Gardens in *Paris*; this City seems to me a Nursery of the World, and I can hardly believe, that there are as many People in *Dehli*. Yet notwithstanding when I reflect upon that multitude of Shops on one side of *Dehli*, and on the other, upon the vast extent of that City, and that there are never less in it then 35000. Cavaliers, not to speak of the Houses of the *Om-rabs*; that of all these Cavaliers, there are very few but have Wives and Children, and a great number of Servants having their Houses apart as their Masters; and that all these Houses

ses swarm with Women and Children: that in many places of *Debli*, though the Streets be broad, and there be but few Chariots and no Coaches, yet at the hours when the heat suffers People to come abroad for their business, there is great confusion: When (I say) I consider all this on the other hand, I do not well know what to determine about the question, and I imagine, that if there be not altogether so much People in *Debli* as in *Paris*, at least there wants not much of it.

Concerning the number of gallant People, it must be acknowledged, that there is this difference between those of *Paris* and *Debli*, that of ten Persons met with upon the Streets of *Paris*, you shall see seven or eight well cloathed and of some fashion, which no Man will count rascally or beggerly People; whereas in *Debli*, for two or three Persons that are pretty well covered, you shall always find seven or eight poor and ragged People; the Army which is there drawing after it all that crew  
of

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of Beggars and Rascals. Yet this is to be acknowledged for a truth, that in *Dehli*, as well as in *Paris*, one meets with a very great quantity of Persons well made, gallant, well mounted, well dressed, and well attended: And indeed, to be upon the great Place before the Fortress, at the hours when all those Omrahs, Rajas, and Mansheb-dars go to the Assembly and to the Guard, that hath something great and splendid in it; when you shall see there every where arrive those *Mansheb-dars* well accoutred, shining with Gold, and well mounted, a couple of Men going before them to make place, and as many behind; when you shall also see many of those great *Omrahs* and *Rajas* riding upon proud Elephants, and some of them on Horseback like the *Mansheb-dars*, and most of them sitting in their rich *Palekys*, carried upon the shoulders of six men, their back leaning against some thick Cushion of purpled Gold, chewing their *Betele*, to have a good breath and vermillion lips, with a Servant on the  
the

the side carrying a Tooth-pick, and a Porcelain or silver Spitting-Vessel; and two more, fanning him and keeping off the flies and dust from him with Peacocks-tails; and three or four others marching before to put by the People; to which is to be added part of their Cavalry (I mean the bravest and best mounted of them) following after: When, I say, all this is seen together marching, as hath been said, with the crowd made there as well as at *Paris*, it will not be denied to be something great and very gallant.

As to the Country about *Dehli*, it is considerable for its fertility; for it beareth Rice, Millet, and three or four other sorts of Legumes, (which is the ordinary food of the common People) Corn, Sugar, Indigo, and all that in abundance. At two leagues off the City on *Agra's* side, in a place by the Mahometans called *Koja Kotubeddine*, there is a very antient Edifice which hath been a Temple of Idols, where are Inscriptions that must also be



be very antient, the Characters of them being such that no body knows what they are, and different from those of all the Languages of the Indies.

On another side, at two or three leagues distance from the Town, you see an House of pleasure of the Kings, which indeed is a stately and Royal House, but yet you must not think it approach to *Fontain-bleau*, or to *St. Germain*, or to *Versaille*. Neither must you imagine that in this Campaigne of *Dehli* there are any *St. Cloux*, *Chantilly's*, *Mendons*, *Liancours*, *Vaux*, *Ruelles*, and many such others; or that you see there any of those other inferior Houses of pleasure belonging to simple Gentlemen, Citizens and Merchants. The Maxime, That the Subjects of a Kingdom have no propriety in any thing, hinders all that.

Lastly, to make you pass quickly those fifty or sixty leagues, which are betwixt *Dehli* and *Agra*, you are not to think, that upon this road you shall see any such large and rich Bur-  
• roughs

roughs as there upon our roads. Set aside *Maturas*, where you see still an antient and stately Temple of Idols, and excepting some *Karavan-sarrabs*, that are well enough, found on the high-way to serve for night-lodgings, I find nothing considerable there, but that Royal Alley of Trees planted by the command of *Jehan-Guire*, and continued by the same order for an hundred and fifty leagues, with little Pyramids or Turrets erected every half league, to mark the ways, and with frequent wells to afford drink to Passengers, and to water the young Trees.

OF AGRA.

TO pass to the description of *Agra*, you have the *Idea* of it, if you have well taken that of *Dehli*; at least in respect of its scituation, which is also upon the Gemma, and in regard of the Fortress, or Royal House, and of most of the Buildings. It is true, that *Agra* hath this advantage over *Dehli*, that being a City where the Kings

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Kings have already resided a long while, *viz.* since *Akber*, who caused it to be built, and called it after his name *Akber-abad*, it is of greater extent then *Dehli*, and hath more of those fine Houses of the *Omrabs* and *Rajas*, and more of the fair *Karwan-sarabs*, as also more of those pretty Houses of Stone and Brick belonging to particular Persons; besides that it hath two famous Tombs, of which I shall speak hereafter; But then it hath these disadvantages, that it wants Walls; that having been built altogether by one design, it hath not those fair and large Streets of uniform buildings as *Dehli*; and that excepting four or five of those principal Streets of Merchants, which are very long and well enough built, all the rest, for the most part, is nothing but a number of little Streets, streight without proportion, and nothing but windings and turnings; which causes strange confusions when the Court is there. I see no other difference between *Agra* and *Dehli*, then that I have

have been just now speaking of; except it be that *Agra* hath more of a Country Town then *Dehli*, especially when we look upon it from an higher place: But 'tis not such a Country-aspect as disgraceth it, but a very agreeable and divertising one; for, there being betwixt the Houses of Omrahs, Rajas and others, store of big green Trees mixt, every one having been curious to plant of them in his Garden and in his Court for shade; and besides, those high Houses of the *Banians*, or Heathen Merchants, appearing here and there between those Trees, as Reliques of old Castles of Forrests; all that causeth within the Town very pleasing sights and perspectives, especially in a dry and hot Country, where Peoples eyes seem to desire nothing but verdure and shade.

Mean time you need not go out of *Paris*, to find the most pleasing and the most gallant sight in the World. Take onely a walk upon the *Pont-neuf*, attentively beholding in the  
F day-



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day-time all things surrounding you, together with that incredible and strange confusion of People: and at night the infinite number of lights in the windows, of those high buildings that are round about you; and the same confusion which continues till after mid-night; the good Citizen, and (which you shall not see in any part of *Asia*) the fair She-Citizen walking without fear of Robbers, and without the inconvenience of dirt; and then the long files of Stars that brave the wind, the rain and darkness. Take only, I say, such a walk upon that Bridge, observing all those things together, and then (upon my word) you may boldly maintain it, that you are upon the spot of the fairest, bravest and most magnificent artificial view of the Earth, unless it be some part of *China* or *Japan*, where I have not been. What will it be then when the *Louvre*, that work which was once thought would never be seen but in design and upon paper, shall be finish? I have purposely added

ded the word *Artificial*, because speaking of the best Perspectives that are, we must always except *Constantinople*, when one is in a Boat in the midst of that great Channel, over against the point of the *Seraglio*: For *there* you shall find your self altogether surprized, as 'twere in the midst of some great and vast enchanted Amphitheater; but in this Perspective the workmanship of *Nature* is most considerable, whereas in that of *Paris*, *Art* and *Dexterity* is most conspicuous, which doubtless renders it more eminent, forasmuch as thereby it looks more like the Seat of a great King, the Capital of a great Empire, and is really, without flattering our selves, and all those beauties of *Dehli*, *Agra* and *Constantinople* well considered and compared, the fairest, the richest, and the chiefest City of the World.

In *Agra* the Reverend Fathers the Jesuits have a Church and a Colledg, where in privat they teach the Children of some twenty five or thirty Christian families, that have (I know

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not how) gathered and settled themselves there by the charity of those Fathers, the Christian Doctrine. It was Ekbar who (in the time of the great power of the *Portuguezes* in the *Indies*) called them, and gave them a pension for their subsistence, permitting them to build Churches in the capital Cities of *Agra* and *Labor*. And his Son Jehan-Guire favored them yet more. But Chah-Jehan, Son of Jehan-Guire, and Father of *Aureng-Zebe* now reigning, took from them their pension, caused their Church at *Labor* to be pulled down, and the greatest part of that in *Agra*, overthrowing also the Steeple of the Church, wherein that Bell was that could be heard over all the Town.

These Fathers the Jesuits entertained great hopes of the progress of Christianity in the time of King Jehan-Guire, because of his contempt of the Mahumetan Law, and the esteem he professed to the *Christian*, even giving way to two of his Nephews to embrace the Christian Religion, and

to a certain *Mirza-Zul-Karmin* (that had been bred in the Seraglio, and was circumcised) to turn Christian too, under the pretence that he was born of Christian Parents, and Son of the Wife of a rich *Armenian*, which *Jehan-Guire* had caused to be brought to him into the Seraglio.

The same Fathers say, that this King, to begin in good earnest to countenance the Christian Religion, designed to put the whole Court into the habit of the *Franqui*, and that after he had prepared all things for it, and even dressed himself in that fashion, he called to him one of the chiefe Omrahs, asking his opinion of this dress; but that this Omrah altogether surprized at it, having answered him very seriously, that it was a very dangerous thing, he thought himself obliged to change his mind, and turned all into raillery.

These Fathers affirm further, that he being upon the point of death, commanded that they should be called to make him a Christian, but that



then they were not made acquainted with it. Many say, that this is not so, and that he died as he had lived, without any Religion, and in the design he had, as well as his Father *Ekb*ar, to set himself up for a Prophet, and to become the Head of a particular Religion of his own compofure.

However it be, there is another thing  
 o I have learned of a Mahumetan, that  
 ' was Son to an Officer of *Jehan Guire*,  
 ' namely, that this King being one day  
 ' in a debauch, called to him a certain  
 ' Religious man of *Florence*, whom he  
 ' called *Father Atech*, as being a little  
 ' fiery man; and after he had comman-  
 ' ded him to say all he could against  
 ' the Law of Mahumet, and for the  
 ' Law of Christ, in the presence of ma-  
 ' ny knowing *Mullahs*, he would have  
 ' made this terrible trial of both those  
 ' Laws, viz. That a great Pit should be  
 ' made, and a good Fire in it, and that  
 ' *Father Atech* with the *Gospel* under  
 ' his arm, and one of those *Mullahs*  
 ' with the *Alcoran* under his, should  
 ' cast themselves both together into  
 that

that fire, and that he would embrace the Law of him that should not burn. But that the sad countenance of the *Mullahs*, altogether astonish'd, and the compassion he had of the *Florentine* Father, who accepted the condition, diverted him from it. Whatever the truth be of this story, 'tis certain, that whilst *Jehan-Guire* lived, these Fathers were respected and honoured in this Court, and that they conceived great hopes of the advancement of Christianity in those parts; but that since that time they have had no great cause to hope much of it, except perhaps what they received by that familiarity, which our Father *Buxé* had with *Dara*. But I shall say no more of this matter of our Missions, intending to give you a particular long Letter of it another time.

Certainly I cannot but exceedingly approve of Missions, and the good *Missionaries*, especially our *Capucins* and *Jesuits*, and some others of our neighborhood, because they give meek instructions, without that indis-

creet zeal and transport which is expressed by some others, and they charitably entertain the Christians of the Country in their Religion, whether they be Catholicks, or Greeks, or Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, or others; and forasmuch also as they are the refuge and comfort of poor Strangers and Travellers, and by their knowledge, sober and exemplary life they confound the ignorance and licentious life of the Infidels: which some others do not always practice; who therefore would do better to keep themselves close in their Convents, and not come hither and give us a masquarade of our Religion, and by doing so, and by their ignorance, jealousy, looseness, and the abuse of their authority and character, become a stumbling-block to the Law of *Jesus Christ*. But a particular thing infers no general; and notwithstanding those miscarriages, I very much applaud the Missions, and pious, and learned Missionaries, they are absolutely necessary: it is the honour and  
 pre-

prerogative of Christianity, to have every where thorow the World Substitutes of the Apostles. But after all that I have seen, and after all the converse and discourse I have so often had with those obstinate Infidels, I may take leave to say, that I almost despair to see struck such great strokes, as the Apostles did, who converted two or three thousand People in one Sermon: finding by experience, and knowing very well upon other accounts, after I have travelled through all the places of the Missions in the East, that all the Missionaries together, not only in the Indies, but in all the Mahometan Dominions, do indeed by their Instructions, accompanied with Charity and Alms, make some progress among the Gentils, but do in ten years not make one Christian of a Mahometan. Truly these Infidels have high thoughts of our Religion, they never speak of Jesus Christ but with great veneration; & they never pronounce the word *Aysa*, that is to say, *Jesus*, without adding that of *Azeret*, which

is



is Majesty. They even agree with us, that he was miraculously born of a Virgin-Mother, and that he is the Kelum-Allah, and the Ronh-Allah, the Word of God, and the Spirit of God: but tis not to be hoped, that they will approve the rest of our Religion, so as to abandon theirs in which they were born, and their false Prophet, to embrace ours, what reasons soever be given them. Our Christians of *Europe* ought to wish, and even to employ their Power, Care and Charity, that Missionaries may be sent over all, such as may be no charge to the People of the Country, and whom want may not induce to do mean things, as well for the reasons already alledged, as for this cause, that they may be ever ready to lay hold on all occasions, always to bear witness to the Truth, and to labour in the Vineyard when it shall please God to give them an overture. But for the rest we ought to be disabused, and not to suffer our selves to be so easily perswaded of so many stories,

## Cities of Indostan.

stories, and not to believe the thing to be so facil as some make it. The Sect is too much libertine, and too attractive to quit it; it is a pernicious Law, which hath been introduced by Arms and Force, and still gets ground by those means: and I hardly know any other way capable to shake and root it out. If therefore there intervene not some of those grand and extraordinary stroaks of Heaven, and God by his powerful and particular Providence interpose not, (as we ought always to hope, according to the great appearances there have been in *China*, in *Japan*, and in the Person of King *Jehan-Guire*) considering the irreverence of the Christians in their Churches, so dissonant from our believe of the particular presence of God upon our Altars, and so different from that deep and astonishing respect which those Infidels bear to their Mosquees, where they would not so much as turn their heads, or speake the least word to one another; there will alwayes be great ob-

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obstacles to their Conversion.

In *Agra* the *Hollanders* have also an Houle, where ordinarily they keep four or five persons. Formerly they had a good trade there in selling Scarlet, great and small Looking-glasses, plain Lace, and Gold and Silver Lace, and some small Wares; and in buying *Indigo*, which is gathered round about *Agra*, but especially at *Bianes*, but two leagues distant from it, and whither they go once a year, having an house there for that purpose; as also in buying those cloths of *Jelapour* and *Laknar*, at seven or eight days journey from *Agra*, where they also keep an house, and whither they send some Factors once a year. But now they say, that there is little profit for them in that trade, whether it be that the *Armenians* drive the same traffick, or that 'tis so far from *Agra* to *Suratte*, or that commonly some mischief or other befalls their *Caravanes*, which must pass by *Amad-avad* over all the Countries of the *Rajas* to avoid the ill ways, and the mountains that are on the side  
of

of *Gouäleor* and *Brampour*, which is the nearer way. Yet notwithstanding these discouragements, they will never (I believe) abandon this *Factory*, as the *English* have done theirs in that place, if it were for nothing else but their *Spices*, which there they sell very well, and for having some of their People near the Court taking care of their concerns: since it cannot be otherwise, but that frequently some trouble will befall their *Factories* by the tyranny of the *Governors* and other *Officers*, now from the side of *Bengale* and *Patna*, another time from *Suratte* and *Amad-avad*.

*English*

We will conclude this part with those two wonderful *Mausolees*, or *Tombs*, that give to *Agra* so much advantage over *Debli*. It was *Jehan-Guire* that caused the first to be erected to honour the memory of his Father *Eckbar*; and *Chah-Jehan* raised the other in honour of *Taje-Mehale* his *Wife*, that extraordinary and celebrated Beauty of the Indies, whom he loved so passionately, that 'tis said,  
he



he never enjoyed any other Woman but her whilst she lived, and that when she died, he was in danger to die himself.

I shall not stay to discourse of the Monument of *Eckbar*, because whatever beauty is there, is found in a far higher degree in that of *Tajè-Mehale*, which I am now going to describe unto you. You may therefore represent to your selfe, that at the going out of the City of *Agra* East-ward, you enter into a long and broad paved street, which riseth gently, and hath on one side an high and long wall, making the side of a square Garden that is much bigger then our *Place-Royal*; and on the other side a row of new houses arched, such as are those of the principal Streets of *Dehli* above spoken of. Having gone the length of half the Wall, you shall find on the right hand of the side of the Houses a great Gate well made, by which one enters into a *Karvan-serah*, and over against it on the walls side, a stately Gate of a  
great

great square Pavillion, by which you enter into the Garden between two Conservatories built up with Free-stone. This Pavillion is longer then 'tis large, built of a Stone like red Marble, but not so hard. The Frontispiece seems to me very magnificent after their way, and as high as that of St. *Louys* in the Street of St. *Antony*. It is true, you do not there see Columns, Archi-traves, and Cornishes cut out after the proportion of those Five Orders of Architecture so religiously observed in our Palaces: it is a different and particular kind of structure, but such an one as wants no agreeableness even in the unusualness of its contrivance, and which, in my opinion, would very well deserve a place in our Books of Architecture. 'Tis almost nothing but Arches upon Arches, and Galleries over Galleries, disposed and ordered an hundred different ways; and yet all appears stately, well enough contrived and managed. There is nothing that offends the eye; on the contrary

all

all is pleasing, and a man cannot be weary in beholding it. The last time I saw it, I was there with one of our French Merchants, who also could not behold it enough. I durst not tell him my thoughts of it, apprehending I might have spoiled my gust, and framed it according to that of *Indostan*: but he being lately come from *France*, I was very glad to hear him say, he had never seen any thing so august and bold in *Europe*.

After you are somewhat entred into the Pavillion to pass into the Garden, you finde your self under an high Vault made like a Cap, which hath Galleries above round about and below, on the right and left side, two Divans or Causeys, made up of earth of eight or ten foot high. Opposite to the Gate there is a great Arch quite open, by which you enter into an Alley, which cuts almost the whole Garden into two equal parts. This Alley is by way of terrasse so large, as that six Coaches can pass on it abreast, paved with great squares of hard

Hard Stone, raised some eight foot high above the Garden-plots, and divided in the middle by a Channel walled up with Free-stone, having jets of water at certain distances. After you have gone twenty five or thirty paces upon this Alley, turning your eye to behold the Entry, you see the other face of the Pavilion, which though it be not comparable to that which looks to the Street, yet wants not its stateliness, being high and of a structure approaching the other. And on both sides of the Pavilion, along the wall of the Garden, you see a long and profound gallery by way of terrassè, supported by many low columns near one another. And in this Gallery 'tis, that during the season of the rains, the Poor are permitted to enter, who come there thrice a week, receiving Alms from a Foundation made there by Chah-Jehan for ever.

Advancing further in this Alley, you discover at a distance before you a great *Dome*, where is the Sepulchre,



and below on the right and left hand you see divers Alleys of a Garden set with Trees, and several Parterres covered with Flowers. At the end of this Alley, besides the Dome before you, you discover on the right and left two great Pavilions, built of the same Stone, and consequently looking all red as the first. These are great and spacious square Edifices, made by way of Terrasse, opening by three Arches, and having at the bottom the wall of the Garden, so that you march under them as if they were high and large Galleries.

I shall not stay to describe unto you the Ornaments within these Pavilions, because in respect of their Walls, Ground-plot, and Pavement, they are not much unlike the Dome, which I am going to delineate unto you, after I shall have observed, that between the end of the Alley (which we have spoken of) and the Dome, there is a pretty large space of a floor, which I call a Water-Parterre, because that the diversly cut and figured Stones

Stones you march upon, are there instead of the Box-Wood of our Parterres. And 'tis from the midst of this Parterre, that you may conveniently see a part of this Edifice, where the Sepulchre is, which remains now to be considered.

It is a great and vast *Dome* of white Marble, which is near the height of that of our *Val de Grace* in *Paris*, surrounded with many Turrets of the same matter with Stairs in them. Four great Arches support the whole Fa-brick, three of which are visible, the fourth is closed in by the wall of an Hall, accompanied with a Gallery, where certain *Mullabs* (entertained for that end) do continually read the *Alcoran*, with a profound respect to the honour of *Taje-Mehalle*. The mould of the Arches is enriched with Tables of white Marble, wherein are seen engraven large Arabian Characters of black Marble, which is very agreeable to behold. The interior or concave part of this Dome, and the whole wall from top to bottom is

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covered with white Marble; and there is no place which is not wrought with Art, and hath not its peculiar Beauty. You see store of Agat, and such sorts of Stones, as are employed to enrich the Chappel of the great Duke of *Florence*; much Jasper, and many other kindes of rare and pretious Stones, set a hundred several ways, mixt and enchased in the Marble that covers the body of the Wall. The Quarries of white and black Marble, that make the floor, are likewise set out with all imaginable beauty and stateliness.

Under this Dome is a little Chamber inclosing the Sepulchre, which I have not seen within, it not being opened but once a year; and that with great Ceremony, not suffering any Christian to enter, for fear (as they say) of Prophaning the Sanctity of the place: but really by what I could learn, because it hath nothing rich or magnificent in it.

There remains nothing else, then to give you occasion to take notice  
of

of an Alley in the fashion of a Terrasse, twenty or twenty five ordinary paces large, and as many or more high; which is betwixt the Dome and the extremity of the Garden, whence you see below you, at the foot of it, the River of *Gemna* running along, a great campagne of Gardens, a part of the Town of *Agra*, the Fortrefs, and all those fair Houses of the Omrahs that are built along the water. There remains no more, I say, then to cause you to observe this *Terrasse*, which taketh up almost the whole length of one side of the Garden, and then to desire you to judge, whether I had reason to say, that the *Mausoleum*, or Tomb of *Taje-Mehale*, is something worthy to be admired. For my part, I do not yet well know, whether I am not somewhat infected still with *Indianisme*; but I must needs say, that I believe it ought to be reckoned amongst the wonders of *Tom: 1: 7.*  
the World, rather than those unshapen masses of the *Aegyptian Pyramids*,



mids, which I was weary to see after I had seen them twice, and in which I finde nothing *without*, but pieces of great Stones ranged in the form of steps one upon another, and *within* nothing but very little Art and Invention.

A  
LETTER  
WRITTEN TO  
Mr. CHAPELAIN,

Sent from Chiras in Persia,  
October 4. 1667.

*Concerning the Superstitions, strange  
Fashions, and Doctrine of the  
Native Indies, or Gen-  
tils of Indostan.*

Whence may be seen, that there are  
no Opinions so ridiculous, and so  
extravagant, which the Spirit  
of Man is not capable of.

SIR,

IF I should live whole ages, I know  
not whether I could ever forget  
those two Eclipses of the Sun,  
of which I saw one in France in the  
Year 1654. and the other in the In-  
dies at *Dehli* in the Year 1666. if I  
remember aright. The former seem-  
ed very remarkable to me upon

the account of the childish credulity of our common People, and of that panick terror which had so seized the heart, that some bought Drugs against the Eclipse; others kept themselves close in the dark in their Caves, and their well-closed Chambers; others cast themselves in great multitudes into the Churches: *Those* apprehending some malign and dangerous influence, and *these* believing that they were come to their last day, and that the Eclipse would shake the foundations of Nature, and overturn it, notwithstanding any thing that the *Gassendi's*, *Robervals*, and many other famous Philosophers could say or write against this perswasion, when they demonstrate, that this Eclipse was of the same nature with so many others that had preceeded without any mischief, and that it was a known accident, foreseen and ordinary, which had nothing peculiar, but what some cheating Astrological Mountebanks might have devised.

= That which I saw at *Debli* seemed  
also

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also very considerable to me, by reason of the ridiculous Errors and Superstitions of the Indians. At the time when the said Eclipse was to appear, I went up to the Terrasse of my house, which was scituate on the side of the River Gemna, thence I saw both sides of the River, for near a league in length, covered with the Heathen Idolaters, that stood in the water up to their girdle, demurely looking up into the sky, to the end that they might plunge and wash themselves at the moment when the Eclipse should begin. The little Boys and Girls were stark naked; the men were almost so too, but that they had a kind of scarf round about their thighs to cover their nakedness: and the married Women, together with the young Maids that were not above six or seven years old, were covered with a single cloth. Persons of condition, as the Rajas, or soverain Princes of those Gentils, (who commonly are about the Person and in the pay of the King) and the Serrahs or Exchangers, the Banckers, Jew-



Jewellers, and other great Merchants, were most of them gone to the other side of the water with all their family, and had there put up their Tents, and fastned in the River certain *Kanates*, which are a kind of skreens, to perform their Ceremonies, and conveniently to wash themselves with their Wives, so as not to be seen by others. These Idolaters no sooner saw the Eclipse begin, but they raised a great cry, and all at once plunged themselves wholly into the water, I know not how many times one after another; standing up afterwards in the water, and lifting up their eyes and hands to Heaven, muttering and praying with great devotion, and from time to time taking water with their hands, which they threw up towards the Sun, bowing down their heads very low, moving and turning their arms and hands sometimes one way, sometimes another, and thus continuing their plunging, praying and apishness unto the end of this Eclipse; at which time every one retired, casting some

some pieces of Silver a good way off into the water, and giving alms to the *Brachmans* or men of the Law, who failed not to be at that Ceremony. I took notice, that at their going out of the water, they all took new cloathes that were laid ready for them folded up on the sand, and that many of the devouter sort left there their old garments for the *Brachmans*. And in this manner did I see from my Terrasse this great solemnity of the Eclipse; which was celebrated after the same manner in the River *Indus* and *Ganges*, and in all the other Rivers, as also in the Receivers of water in the *Indies*, but especially in that of the *Tanais*, where were met together above an hundred and fifty thousand persons, come together from all parts of the *Indies*, because the water of it is on that day reputed more holy and efficacious then on any other.

The great Mogol, though he be a Mahumetan, suffers these Heathens to go on in these old superstitions, because he will not, or dareth not cross them

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them in the exercise of their Religion, and besides it is not performed without presenting him, by the hands of the *Brachmans* as Commissioners, a

b. 164 *Lecque* or an hundred thousand Roupies, which are worth above fifty thousand Crowns, for which he returns nothing but a few Vests and an old Elephant. Now you shall see those solid reasons (forsooth) which they alledge for this Feast, and for the Ceremonies by them observed in it.

We have (say they) our four *Beths*, that is, Books of the Law, Sacred and Divine Writings, given us by God through the hands of *Brabma*. These Books do teach us, that a certain *Deu-  
167- ta*, which is a kind of corporeal Divinity, very malign and mischievous, very black and very filthy (these are their own expressions in their language) seizeth on the Sun, blackens it as twere with ink, and so darkens it: *That this Sun*, which is also a *Deu-  
ta*, but of the best and the most beneficent and perfect divinities, is at that time

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time in very great pains and terrible anguish, to see himself thus seized on and misused by that black villaine : That 'tis a general duty to endeavour to deliver him from this miserable condition ; which cannot be effected but by the force of prayers , washings and alms , and that these actions are of a very extraordinary merit, to such a degree , that an alms given at that time is worth an hundred given at another. Who is there , say they , that would not give *cent pour cent* ?

Sir , these are the two Eclipses I spoke of , which I shall hardly ever forget , and which minister occasion to me to proceed to some other extravagancies of these Gentils , whence you may draw what consequences you shall please.

In the Town of Jagannat , which is seated upon the Golf of Bengala , and where is that famous Temple of the Idol of the same name , there is yearly celebrated a certain Feast , which lasts eight or nine days , if I remember well. There is found an incredible  
num-



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number of people, as there was anciently in the Temple of *Hammon*, and as 'tis at this day at *Mecca*. This number, 'tis said, amounts sometimes to above an hundred and fifty thousand persons. They make a stately engine of wood, as I have seen of them in many other places of the Indies, with I know not how many extravagant figures, almost such as we are wont to paint Monsters with two heads or bodies, half man and half beast, or gigantick and terrible heads, Satyrs, Apes or Divels; which Engine is put upon fourteen or sixteen wheels, such as the carriages of Canons may be, which fifty or sixty persons more or less do draw, or thrust forwards: Upon the middle of it appears most conspicuously the Idol *Jagannat*, richly dressed and adorned, which is thus transported from one place to another.

The first day that they shew this Idol with Ceremony in the Temple the crowd is usually so great to see it, that there is not a year, but some of those

### **The Gentils of Indostan. III**

these poor Pilgrims, that come a far off, tired, and harassed, are suffocated there; all the people blessing them for having been so happy, as to die on so holy an occasion. And when this Hellish Triumphant Chariot marcheth, there are found (which is no Fable) persons so foolishly credulous and superstitious as to throw themselves with their bellies under those large and heavy wheels, which bruise them to death, having suffered themselves to be perswaded, that there is no action so heroick nor so meritorious as that, and that *Jagennat* will at the same time receive them as his Children, and cause them to be born again in a state of felicity and glory.

The *Brachmans* for their particular advantage and interest, I mean that of Alms and Respect given to them as Persons devoted to these Mysteries, do entertain the People in these errors and superstitions, and they proceed even to such infamous cheats and Villanies, that I could never have believed them, if I had not fully informed

ed

ed my self of it. These Impostours take a young Maid, of the fairest they can meet with, to be the Bride (as they speak, and bear the besotted people in hand) of *Jagannat*, and they leave her all night in the Temple (whither they have carried her) with the Idol, making her believe that *Jagannat* himself will come and embrace her, and appointing her to ask him, Whether it will be a fruitful Year, what kinde of Processions, Feasts, Prayers and Alms he demands to be made for it. In the mean time one of these lustful Priests enters at night by a little back-door into the Temple, deflowreth this young Maid, and maketh her believe any thing he pleaserh; and the next day, being transported from this Temple into another with the same magnificence, she was carried before upon the Chariot of Triumph on the side of *Jagannat* her Bridegroom; these *Brabitians* make her say aloud before all the people, whatsoever she had been taught of these Cheats, as if she had learnt it from  
the

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the very mouth of *Jagannat*. But let us go on ( if you please ) to follies of another kind.

Before this Chariot, and often in the very Temples of the Idols, on Festival days, you shall see publick Women dance, making an hundred indecent and extravagant postures; and yet the *Brahmans* finde a way to accord all that with their Religion. I have seen some Women, that are not only famous for their beauty, but also for great reservedness, which refused very considerable presents of certain Mahumetans and Christians, and even of Heathen strangers, as if they were only dedicated to the Ministry and the Ministers of *Deura*, or the Idol Temple, to the *Brahmans* and these *Fakires*, which are there seated most of them upon ashes round about, altogether naked with their fearful hair of *Megera*, and in the posture I shall speak of hereafter. But let us stay no longer upon these follies.

There are so many Writers of voy-  
H ages



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ages relating the custom of the *Indian* Women, burning themselves with their Husbands, that I think something will at last be believed of it. For my part, I am going to take my turn also, and to write to you of it like others; yet in the mean time observing withall, that 'tis not all true what is said of it, and that now they do not burn themselves in so great a number as formerly, because the Mahumetans, that bear sway at present in *Indostan*, are enemies to that barbarous custome, and hinder it as much as they can; not opposing it absolutely, because they are willing to leave their idolatrous people, who are far more numerous than themselves, in the free exercise of their Religion, for fear of some revolt: but by indirectly preventing it, in that they oblige the Women, ready to burn themselves, to go and ask permission of the respective Governors, who send for them, make converse with their own Women, remonstrate things to them with annexed

hexed promises, and never give them this permission, but after they have tryed all these gentle ways, and till they find them fixt in their sottish resolution. Which yet hinders not but that many burn themselves, especially of those that live upon the Lands of the *Rajahs*, where no Mahumetan Governors are. I shall not stay to give you the history of all those, which I have seen burn themselves; that would be too long, and too tedious: I shall only relate unto you two or three Examples of them, whence you may judge of the rest; but first you shall have the relation of a Woman, which I was sent unto to divert her from such a mischievous design.

A friend of mine, called *Benidas*, the first Clerk of my *Agah Danech-mend-kan*, died of an Hectick, having been treated by me above two years. His Wife immediately resolv'd to burn her self, together with the Body of her Husband; but her Parents, by the order of my *Agah*, whose servants they were, endeavour'd to dis-

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swade her from it; representing to  
 her, that though it were indeed a ge-  
 neros and laudable resolution, and  
 would be a great honour and happi-  
 ncs in the Family, yet she ought to  
 consider, that her Children were yet  
 little, that she could not abandon  
 them; and that she was to prefer  
 their good; and the affection she had  
 for them, to the love she had for her  
 Husband, and to her own satisfaction.  
 These Parents not having been able to  
 prevail with her by all these repre-  
 sentments, bethought themselves to  
 desire me to go to her, as sent from  
 my *Agah*, and as an antient friend to  
 the Family. I went, and when I came,  
 I did, as soon as I came in, see a cluster  
 of seven or eight fearful old Women,  
 together with four or five infatuated  
 and brain-sick *Brabmans*, who all  
 cried by turns, beating their Hands  
 about the dead Corps, and the Wi-  
 dow in her loose Hair, looking pale,  
 yet with dry and sparkling Eyes, sit-  
 ting and crying also aloud, and beat-  
 ing her Hands, as the rest, with a kind  
 of

of Cadency, upon the Feet of her Husband. The out-cry and noise being ended, I approach'd to this Company of people, and addressing my self to the Widow, I gave her softly to understand, that I came from *Danechmend-kan*; that he had appointed a monthly Pension of two Crowns, to each of her two Sons, but on condition that she should not burn her self, to the end, that she might take care of them, and breed them up as was fit; that else we knew ways enow to hinder her from burning her self, if she were obstinate for it, and to make those repent, that should allure and incite her to such an unreasonable resolution, especially since none of her Kindred was satisfied with it, and that she would not be counted infamous, as those are that want the resolution to burn themselves after the death of their Husbands, when they have no Children. I often inculcated to her all these considerations, without hearing a word of answer from her; though at



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'last she said, looking fiercely upon  
 'me: Well, if I am hindred to burn  
 'my self, I am resolved to break my  
 'Head against the Wall. Then said I  
 'by my self; What diabolical fury  
 'doth possess thee? And to her I an-  
 'swer'd, full of indignation: Then  
 'take thy Children, thou unhappy  
 'Creature, and cut their Throats, and  
 'burn them with thee; for they will  
 'be starved, I being now ready to re-  
 'turn to *Danechmiend-kan*, and to an-  
 'null their Pension. These words be-  
 'ing spoken by me, with the loudest  
 'and most menacing tone I could, made  
 'impression upon the spirit of this  
 'Woman, and upon that of all the assis-  
 'tants: She presently, without any  
 'reparty, let her Head sink down upon  
 'her Knees, and most of the old Wo-  
 'men & *Brahmans* went away. Where-  
 'upon her Relations, that were come  
 'with me, entred and parlied with  
 'her. And I, thinking I had done  
 'enough, took Horse, and came away  
 'to my Lodgings, supposing they  
 'would do the rest well enough. In  
 short,

short, about evening, when I was going to give an account to my *Agah* of what I had done, I met with her Parents, who thank'd me, and said, that the dead Corps had been burn't, and the Widow perswaded to remain alive.

Concerning the Women that have actually burn'd themselves, I have so often been present at such dreadful spectacles, that at length I could endure no more to see it, and I retain still some horror when I think on't. Yet I shall represent to you some of them, but pretend not to express to the life, with what courage and resolution these poor Women atchieved such a direful Tragedy; for there is nothing but the Eye it self that can exhibite a right *idea* thereof.

When I was passing from *Amadevad* to *Agra*, over the Lands of the *Rajas*, that are in those parts, there came news to us in a Burrough, where the Caravane rested under the shade (Itaying for the cool of the evening, to march on in their journey) that a certain Woman was then upon the 2:6

Point of burning her self with the  
Body of her Husband. I present-  
ly rose, and ran to the place where  
it was to be done, which was a great  
Pit, with a Pile of Wood raised  
in it, whereon I saw laid a dead Corps,  
and a Woman, which at a distance  
seem'd to me pretty fair, sitting near  
it on the same Pile; besides four or  
five *Brahmans*, putting the Fire to it  
from all sides; five Women of a mid-  
dle age, and well enough dressed,  
holding one another by the Hand, and  
dancing about the Pit, and a great  
crowd of People, Men and Women,  
looking on. The Pile of Wood was  
presently all on fire, because store of  
Oil and Butter had been thrown upon  
it, and I saw at the same time through  
the flames, that the fire took hold of  
the Cloaths of the Woman, that were  
imbued with well-scented Oils, min-  
gled with Powder of Santal and Saff-  
ron. All this I saw, but observed  
not, that the Woman was at all di-  
sturbed; yea, it was said, that she had  
been heard to pronounce with great  
force

force these two words, *Five, Two*, to signify, according to the Opinion of those that hold the Soul's Transmigration, that this was the *Fifth* time she had burn't her self with the same Husband, and that there remain'd but *two* times for perfection; as if she had at that time this Remembrance, or some Prophetical Spirit. But here ended not this Infernal Tragedy: I thought it was only by way of ceremony, that these five Women sung and danced about the pit; but I was altogether surprized, when I saw, that the flame having taken hold of the cloaths of one of them, she cast her self with her Head foremost into the Pit, and that, after her, another, being overcome by the flame and smoak did the like: And my astonishment redoubled afterwards, when I saw, that the remaining three took one another again by the Hand, continued their dance without any apparent fear, and that at length they preeipitated themselves, one after another into the fire, as their companions had done. It troubled



troubled me sufficiently, that I knew  
not what that meant ; but I learnt  
shortly after, that these had been five  
Slaves, who, having seen their Mistress  
extreamly afflicted at the sickness of  
her Husband, and heard her promise  
him, that she would not survive him,  
but burn her self with him, were so  
touch'd with compassion and tender-  
ness towards this their Mistress, that  
they engaged themselves in a promise  
to follow her in her resolution, and  
to burn themselves with her. Many  
persons, whom I then consulted about  
this custome of Women burning  
themselves with the Bodies of their  
Husbands, would perswade me, that  
what they did was from an excess of  
affection they had for them : But I  
understood afterwards, that it was  
only an effect of Opinion, prepossession  
and custome ; and that the Mothers,  
from their youth besotted with  
this superstition, as of a most virtuous  
and most laudable action, such as  
was unavoidable to a Woman of honour,  
did also infatuate the spirit of  
their

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their Daughters from their very infancy : Although, at the bottome, it was nothing else but an Art of the Men, the more to enslave their Wives, thereby to make them have the more care of their health, and to prevent poisoning of them.

But let us proceed to another Tragedy, which I shall rather represent to you than many others, at which I have been present, because it hath something uncommon in it. 'Tis true, I was not there my self; but you may do as I, who do not stand out against crediting these things, because I have seen so many of them which seem'd incredible to me. This Action is grown so famous in the Indies, that no body doubts of it, and it may be, that even your self have already heard of it in *Europe*.

'Tis of a Woman, that was engaged in some Love-entrignes with a young Mahumetan her Neighbour, that was a Tailor, and could play finely upon the Tabor. This Woman in the hopes she had of marrying  
this

“this young man, poison’d her Husband, and presently came away to tell her Tailor, that it was time to be gone together as they had projected, or else that she should be obliged to burn her self. The young Man fearing, lest he might be entangled in a mischievous business, flatly refused her. The Woman, not at all surprized at it, went to her Relations, and advertised them of the sudden death of her Husband, and openly protested that she would not survive him, but burn her self with him. Her Kindred well satisfied with so generous a resolution, and the great honour she did to the whole Family, presently had a Pit made, and filled with Wood, exposing the Corps upon it, and kindling the Fire. All being prepar’d, the Woman goes to embrace and bid fare-well to all her Kindred that were there about the Pit, among whom was also the Tailor, who had been invited to play upon the Tabor that day, with many others of that sort of Men, according to  
the

the custome of the Country. This fury of a Woman being also come to this young Man, made as if she would bid him fare-well with the rest; but in stead of gently embracing him, she taketh him with all her force about his Collar, pulls him to the Pit, and tumbleth him together with her self into the Ditch, where they both were soon dispatch't.

She which I saw burn her self, when 4:0 I parted from *Suratte* to travel into *Persia*, in the presence of Monsieur *Chardin* of *Paris*, and of many English and Dutch, was of a middle age, and not unhandsome. To represent unto you the undaunted chearfulness, that appear'd in her countenance, the resolution with which she marched, wash'd her self, spoke to the people; the confidence with which she look'd upon us, view'd her little Cabin, made up of very dry Millet-straw and small Wood, went into this Cabin, and sate down upon the Pile, and took her Husband's Head into her Lap, and a Torch into her own Hand, and



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and kindled the Cabin, whilst I know  
not how many *Brahmans* were busie  
in kindling the fire round about: To  
represent unto you, I say, all this, as  
it ought, is not possible for me; I can  
at present scarce believe it my self,  
though it be but a few days since I saw  
it.

'Tis true, that I have seen some of  
them, which at the sight of the Pile  
and Fire, appear'd to have some ap-  
prehension, and that perhaps would  
have gone back, but 'tis often too  
late: Those Demons, the *Brahmans*,  
that are there with their great Sticks,  
astonish them, and hearten them up,  
or even thrust them in; as I have seen  
it done to a young Woman that re-  
treated five or six paces from the Pile,  
and to another that was much dis-  
turbed when she saw the Fire take  
hold of her Cloaths, these Executio-  
ners thrusting her in with their long  
Poles. Yet I have often seen one,  
that is still a handsome Woman, and  
had saved her self out of their Hands,  
falling into the Hands of the *Gadons*;  
that

that sometimes meet there in great numbers, when they know that 'tis some fair and young Woman that is to be burnt, and that hath no greater Kindred, nor much Company with her: For the Women that are afraid of the Pile, and fly away from it, knowing that they cannot be received again amongst the Gentiles, nor live with them, because they repute them infamous, after they have committed such a fault, and brought such a disgrace upon their Religion, such Women, I say, are ordinarily the prey of this kind of Men, who are also counted infamous in the *Indies*, and that have nothing to loose. A *Mogolion* durst not save, nor receive any, for fear of bringing himself into great trouble. Some *Portugueses* living in Sea-ports, where they were strongest, have sometimes carried away some of them. For my part, I have often been so enraged against those *Brahmans*, that if I durst, I had strangled them. I remember, among others, that at *Labor*, I saw a very handsome and a very

Every young Woman burn't : I believe  
 she was not above twelve years of  
 age. This poor unhappy Creature  
 appear'd rather dead than alive, when  
 she came near the Pile ; she shook, and  
 wept bitterly : Mean time three or  
 four of these Executioners, the *Brab-*  
*mans*, together with an old Hag, that  
 held her under the Arm, thrust her on,  
 and made her sit down upon the  
 Wood, and least she should run away,  
 they tied her Legs and Hands, and so  
 burn'd her alive. I had enough to  
 do to contain my self for indignati-  
 on ; but I was forced to content my  
 self with detesting this horrid Reli-  
 gion, and to say by my self, what the  
 Poet once said of such another, upon  
 the occasion of *Iphigenia*, whom her  
 own Father *Agamemnon* sacrificed to  
*Diana*, for the interest of the *Greci-*  
*ans*, amongst whom he was one of  
 the principal Leaders.

---*Tantum Religio potuit suadere malo-*  
*(rum !*

Those

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These are certainly very barbarous and very cruel Customes, but that which the *Brahmans* do in some other places of the Indies is yet more so: For instead of burning those Women that will dye upon the death of their Husbands, they bury them to the ground alive up to the very Throat, and then two or three of them fall at once upon them, and wring their Neck round, and so choak them, covering them quickly with some earth, and then marching over their Heads. But let us pass to some other Customes of those Countries.

Most of the Gentiles burn their dead; but some there are, that do no more then with some Straw broil them on a Rivers side, casting them thereupon from the height of a steep Bank into the Water: Which I have often seen upon the River *Ganges*.

Some of these Gentiles there are, who, when they perceive a sick person near death, carry him to the side of a River (at which barbarous action I have been once sent) and then first  
put



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put his Feet into the Water, and afterwards let him slide down as far as to his Throat, and then when they think he is now expiring, they sink him quite under Water, and there leave him, after they have made a great clamour, and clapping with their Hands: And this, *say they*, to the end that the Soul leaving the Body may be wash'd from all the impurities, she may have contracted in the Body. And this is not only a reason given by the Vulgar; for I have spoken with the most Learned of them, who deliver'd the same with great seriousness. But let us go on to other extravagancies.

Amongst that vast number and great variety of *Fakires, Deroiches*, or Religious Heathens of the Indies, there is abundance of them that have Convents, in which there are Superiours, and wherein they make certain vows of Chastity, Poverty, and Obedience, leading so odd a life, that I doubt whether you can give credit to it. These are commonly called *Janguis*, as if you should say, *United to God.*

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**God.** You shall see many of them sit  
stark naked, or lie days and nights  
upon Alhes, and, commonly enough,  
under some of those large trees, that  
are on the sides of the *Talabs* or  
Ponds, or else in those Galleries that  
are about their *Deuras* or Idol-tem-  
ples. Some of them have their Hair  
hanging down to the middle of their  
Legs, and that wreathed into several  
parcels, as the large *Māin* of our  
Barbes, or rather as the Hair of those  
that have the sickness of *Poland*, call'd  
the *Plica*. Of these I have seen some  
in divers places, who held one Arm,  
and sometimes both, lifted up perpetu-  
ally above their Heads, and that  
had at the end of their Fingers  
wreathed Nails, that were longer by  
measure than half my little finger.  
Their Arms were small and lean as of  
hectical persons, because they took  
not sufficient nourishment in that  
forced posture, and they could not  
let them down to take any thing with  
them, either meat or drink, because  
the Nerves were retired, and the

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Joins were filled and dried up: wherefore also they have young Novices, that serve them as Holy men with very great respect. There is no *Ategera* in Hell so terrible to look on, as those Men are, all naked, with their black Skin, long Hair, dried Arms, and in the posture mention'd, and with crooked Nails.

O I have often met in the Field, especially upon the Lands of the *Rajas*, whole Squadrons of these *Faquire*, altogether naked, dreadful to behold. Some held their Arms lifted up in the posture mention'd; others had their terrible Hair hanging about them, or else they had wreathed them about the Head; some had a kind of *Hercules's* Club in their Hand; others had dry and stiff Tiger-skins over their Shoulders. I saw them pass thus quite naked, without any shame, through the midst of a great Burrough. I admired how Men, Women, and Children could look upon them so indifferently, without being moved no more than if we should see

pass

**The Gentils of Indostan.** 133

pass some Eremite through our streets ; and how the Women brought them almes with much devotion, taking them for very holy Men, much wiser and better than others.

I have seen for a long while a very famous one in *Dehli*, called *Sarmet*, who went thus stark naked along the streets, and who at length would rather suffer his Neck to be cut off, than to put on any cloaths, what promises or menaces soever *Aureng-Zebe* might send to him.

I have seen many of them, who out of devotion went long Pilgrimages, not only altogether naked, but charged with Iron-chains, like those that are put about the Legs of Elephants. Others, who, out of a particular vow, stood for seven or eight days upright upon their Legs, which thereupon swell'd as big as their Thighs, without sitting or lying down, or without reposing themselves otherwise than by leaning some hours of the night upon a stretch'd Cord ; Others, who stood for whole



hours upon their Hands without wa-  
vering, the Head down, and the Feet  
upward: And so of many other sorts of  
postures so constrain'd, & so difficult,  
that we have no Tumbler able to im-  
mitate them; and all this it seems upon  
the account of Religion, of which yet  
their appears not the least shadow in it.

All these so extraordinary things  
did (to tell you the truth) exceeding-  
ly surprize me at first, I knew not what  
to say or think of it. Sometimes I  
look'd upon them as a remainder, or  
rather as the Authors of that antient  
and infamous Sect of the *Cynicks*, but  
only that I found nothing in them,  
but brutality and ignorance, and that  
they seem'd to me a kind of Trees,  
somewhat moving from one place to  
another, rather than rational Animals.  
Another time I consider'd them as  
Men altogether Enthusiastical;  
though as I lately said, I could not  
find any shadow of true Piety in all  
they did. Sometimes I thought, that  
this lazy, idle, and independent Life  
of Beggars might have something at-  
tractive

tractive in it. Sometimes I imagin'd that the vanity, which creeps in every where, and which is as often found under the patched Mantle of *Diogenes*, as under the comly garment of *Plato*, there might lurk that Spring, which might set a going so many Engins; & then reflecting withal upon the miserable and austere life they led, I knew not what Judgment to make of them.

'Tis true, that many say, that they do not exercise these strange austerities but in the hopes they entertain of becoming *Rajas* in their renaissance, or of returning again in a more happy life. But, as I have often told them to their Faces, how is't possible for any Man to resolve upon such a miserable life from the hope of another, that is to be no longer, and hath also, in the upshot, but very little happiness in it, though one should return a *Raja*, and even a *Jesseingue* or a *Jessomseingue*, which are the two most puissant *Rajas* of the *Indies*? There must needs, said I, lye something else under it, which you have

no mind to discover to us, or you must be arrant Fools.

Amongst those, I have been speaking of, there are such that are believed to be true Saints, illuminated and perfect *Jangus*, entirely united to God. These are people that have altogether abandon'd the World, and sequester'd themselves into some very remote corner or Garden, like Eremites, without ever coming to Town. If you carry them any meat, they receive it; if they do not, 'tis believed that they can live without it, and subsist by the sole favour of God in perpetual fasting, prayer, and profound meditations: For they sink themselves so deep into *these* raptures, that they spend many hours together in being insensible, and beholding in that time, as they give out, God himself, like a very bright and ineffable Light, with an unexpressible joy and satisfaction, attended with an entire contempt and forsaking of the World: For thus much one of them, that pretended he could enter into  
this

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this rapture when he pleased, and had been often in it, told me; and others that are about them, affirm the thing with so much seriousness, that they seem to believe in earnest, as if there were no imposture in it. God alone knows whether there be any truth in it, and whether in this solitude and fasting the imagination debilitated, may not suffer it self to be carried away into these illusions: Or whether they be not of that kind of natural Raptures, into which *Gardan* said he fell when he list'd; and this the rather, because I see, there is used some Art in what they do, forasmuch as they prescribe to themselves certain Rules, by little and little to bind up their Senses. For they say, for Example, that after they have fasted many days, using nothing but Bread and Water, 'tis requisite first to keep themselves alone retired from all company, directing the Eyes steadily, towards Heaven for a while, then gently casting them down again, and then fixing them both so as to look at  
one



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one and the same time upon the tip of their Nose equally, and as much on one side as the other (which is troublesome enough) and remaining firm and intent in that posture, until such a Light do come. Whatever the matter be, I know, that these Raptures, and these ways of falling into them, make the great Mystery of the Cabala of the *Janguis*, as the *Soufys* do also. I call it *Mystery*, because they keep it very secret amongst them; and if it had not been for this *Pendet* or Indian Doctor, to whom *Danechmend-kan* gave a Pension, and who durst hide nothing from him; and if also *Danechmend-kan* had not known the Mysteries of the *Cabala* of the *soufys*, I should not have discover'd so much of it. I know besides, that as for the extremity of Poverty, of Fastings, and Austerities, that also can do much to it. We must not think (or I am much deceived) that any of our Religious Friars or Eremites go in this point beyond those Men, nor generally beyond all the Asia-

Asiatick Monks; witness the Life and Fastings of the *Armenians, Coptes, Greeks, Nestorians, Jacobites, and Maronites*. We must rather avow, that we are but Novices, when compared with those Religious Men: But then we must also acknowledge, according to what I have experimented, in respect of those of the *Indies*, that they can much more easily bear hunger than we can in our colder Climates.

There are others very differing from those, but very strange Men likewise; they are almost perpetually travelling up and down, they deride all, take care of nothing, Men that brag of secrets, and who, as the people say, know no less than to make Gold, and so admirably to prepare *Mercury*, that a grain or two of it taken every morning restoreth the body to perfect health, and so strengthens the Stomach, that it feeds greedily and digests with ease. This is not all: when two of these *Janguis*, that are eminent, do meet, and you stir them up in the point and power of their

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their knowledge or *Jaugisme*, you shall see them do such tricks out of spight to one another, that I know not whether *Simon Magus* could have out-done them. For they divine what one thinketh, make the branch of a Tree blossome and bear fruit in less than an hour, hatch Eggs in their bosome in less than half a quarter of an hour, and bring forth such Birds as you demand, which they make fly about the Chamber, and many such other prodigies. I mean, if what is said of them be true; for I remember, that one day my *Agab* sent for one of these famous Diviners, and when he was come, agreed with him to give him the next day 300. Roupies, which is about 150. Crowns, if he should tell him, as he said he would, his present thought, which he was to write before him upon a Paper: As also, that I my self made a bargain with the same, to give him 25. Roupies, if he should divine mine; but the Prophet failed us, as also did at another time one of those

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pretended producers of Birds, to whom I had also promised 20. Roupies. I am still to be understood, if it be true what is said of them. For, as for me, I am with all my curiosity none of those happy Men, that are present at, and see those great feats; and if I should chance to see any of such things as are thought strange, I am always considering and seeking, whether the thing may not be done by some Juggle, Art, or Trick of Leger-demain: And I am sometimes even so unhappy, or, if you will, so fortunate, as to find out the cheat, as I did him, that made a Cup run, to discover who it was, that had stolen money from my *Agah*.

Lastly, there are some in many places, that are quite of another way than all those I have discoursed of. Their Life and their Devotion is more meek and more polished; they go over the Streets bare-foot and bare-headed, girt about with a Scarfe hanging down to their Knees, and having a white Sheet which passeth under



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under their right Arm, and comes out over their left Shoulder like a Cloak, without other Cloaths under it. They are always very clean and neat in all things, and commonly go two and two together with great modesty, holding in their Hand a small Earthen Trevet, with two handles, very neat. They do not go gossiping from Shop to Shop, as many of the other *Fakires* do. They go freely every where into the Houses of the Gentiles, where they are welcome, and much made of; they being esteem'd a Blessing to the House. They are by no means to be accused of any thing; though it be well enough known, what in such visits among the Women palleth. But 'tis the custom, they are in possession of being Saints for all that, and any House thinks it self honour'd with their visit. But it is not only there so; many other places there be in the World, where things are not so strictly look'd to. But that which I find most ridiculous in those people is, That they are impertinent enough,

enough, to compare themselves with our Religious Men, they meet with in the *Indies*. I have often taken O pleasure to catch them, using much ceremony with them, and giving them great respect; but I soon heard them say to one another: This *Frangis* knows who we are, he hath been a great while in the *Indies*, he knows that we are the *Padrys* of the *Indians*. A fine comparision, said I within my self, made by an impertinent and idolatrous rable of Men!

But we stay too long upon these Heathen-beggars: Let us go on to their *Books of Law and Sciences*: you may afterwards Judge, whether most of what I am going to say of it, may be put, as I think it may, in the number of Extravagancies.

Do not wonder, if, though I know not the *Hanscrit*, the language of the *Learn'd* (of which somewhat may be said hereafter, and which is perhaps the same with that of the old *Brahmans*) do notwithstanding tell you many things taken out of Books written

ten in that Tongue. For you must know, that my *Agah Danechmend-kan*, partly upon my solicitation, partly out of his own curiosity, took into his service one of the famousst *Pendets* that was in all the *Indies*, and that formerly had had a Pension of *Dara*, the Eldest Son of King *Chah-jehan*; and that this *Pendet*, besides that he drew to our House all the most Learned *Pendets*, was for three years constantly of my conversation. When I was weary of explaining to my *Agah* those late discoveries of *Harvey* and *Pecquet* in *Anatomy*, and of discoursing with him of the Philosophy of *Gassendi* and *Des-cartes*, which I translated to him into *Persian* (for that was my chief employment for five or six years) that *Pendet* was our refuge, and then he was obliged to discourse, and to relate unto us his stories, which he deliver'd seriously and without ever smiling. 'Tis true, that at last we were so much disgusted with his tales and uncouth reasonings, that we scarce had patience left to hear them.

They

They say then, that God, whom they call *Achar*, that is to say, Immoveable or Immutable, hath sent them four Books, which they call *Beths*, a word signifying *Science*, because they pretend that in these Books all Sciences are comprehended. The first of these Books is call'd *Athen-babed*, the second *Zager-bed*, the third *Rek-bed*, the fourth *Sama-bed*. Conform to the doctrine of these Books, this people ought to be distinguish'd, as really they are, into four Tribes: The first is of Brahmans, Men of the Law; the second of Quetterys, Men of Arms; the third, Men of Bescue or Trafick, commonly call'd Banians; and the fourth, Men of Scydra, that is, Handy-crafts Men and Labourers. And these are so discriminated, that those of one Tribe cannot marry into another, that is, a *Brahman* cannot marry with a Woman *Quettery*, and so of the rest.

They all agree in one Doctrine, which is that of *Pythagoras* concerning the Metempsychosis or Transmigration



tion of Souls, and in this, that they must not kill or eat of any Animal. However there are some of the second Tribe that may eat of them, provided it be neither Cows nor Peacocks-flesh, they all having a great veneration for these two creatures, especially the *Cow*, because they fancy I know not what River lying between this Life and that to come, which they are to pass by holding themselves fast on a Cow's-tail. Possibly their ancient Legislators had seen those Shepherds of *Egypt*, crossing the *Nile*, by holding with their left-hand the Tail of an Oxe, and in their right-hand a Stick to guide him with; or rather they have imprinted in them this respect for Cows, because they draw from them Milk and Butter, which is a great part of their subsistence; and because also they are so serviceable for the Plough, and consequently for the Life of Man; and that the rather because it is not so in the *Indies* as in our Parts, for maintaining so great a number of Cattle as we do: if but half

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as many of them should be killed in the *Indies*, as there are in *England* or *France*, the Country would quickly be destitute of them, and the Land remain Untilled. The heat is there so violent for eight months of the year, that all is dry, and that Oxen and Cows are often starved, or dye of eating trash in the Fields like Hogs. And 'tis upon the account of the scarcity of Cattle, that in the time of *Jehan-Guire* the *Brabmans* obtain'd an Edict, that no Cattle should be kill'd for a certain number of years, and that of late they presented a Petition to *Aureng-Zebe*, and offered him a considerable sum, if he would make the like Prohibition. They remonstrated, that for 50. or 60. years past much Land had remain'd Unploughed, because the Oxen and Cows were become too scarce and too dear. It may be also, that these Law-givers considered, that Cows and Ox-flesh in the *Indies* is not very savoury, nor wholesome, unless it be for a little time in Winter, during the

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cooler season : Or lastly , that they would take the People off from mutual cruelty , ( to which they were too much inclined ) by obliging them , as by a maxime of Religion , to exercise humanity to the very Beasts , and by making them believe , that killing or eating an Animal , it might happen that they did kill or eat one of their Grand-sires ; which would be an horrid crime.

According to the Doctrine of these *Beths* , they are obliged to say their Prayers at least thrice every day , in the morning , at noon , and at night , with their face turned to the East. They are also bound to wash their whole body thrice , or at least before they eat ; and they believe , that 'tis more meritorious to wash themselves in running water then in any other. And it may be , that the Legislators in this point also have had a respect to what is proper and convenient for this Countrey , where nothing is more desirable then washing and bathing. And they find it troublesome enough

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to observe this Law, when they are in cold Countries: I have seen some of them that were like to die, because they would *there* also observe their Law of washing their Body by plunging themselves into Rivers or Ponds, when they found any near; or by throwing whole buckets of water over their heads, when they were remote from them. When I told them upon occasion, that in cold Countries it would not be possible to observe that Law of theirs in Winter (which was a sign of its being a meer human invention) they gave this pleasant answer: That they pretended not their Law was universal; that God had only made it for them, and it was therefore that they could not receive a Stranger into their Religion: that they thought not our Religion was therefore false, but that it might be it was good for us, and that God might have appointed several differing ways to go to Heaven; but they will not hear that our Religion should be the general Religion for



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the whole earth; and theirs a fable and pure device.

These same Books do teach them, that God having determined to create the World, would not execute it immediatly, but made first three perfect Beings: the first was *Brahma*, which signifieth Penetrating into all things; the second *Beschen*, that is, Existing in all things; and the third *Mehahden*, that is, great Lord. That by the means of *Brahma* he created the World, by the means of *Beschen* he preserveth it, and by the means of *Mehahden* he will destroy it. That it is *Brahma*, who by the command of God did publish the four *Beths*, and that therefore he is in some of their Churches represented with four Heads.

As to those three *Beings*, I have seen some *European* Missionaries that were of opinion, that these Gentils had some *Idea* of the Mystery of the *Trinity*; and said, it was exprelly contained in their Books, that there are three Persons, and one only God.  
For

For my part, I have made the *Pendets* sufficiently discourse upon this point; but they declare themselves so poorly, that I could not clearly understand their sense. I have even heard some of them, who said, that these are three Creatures very perfect, which they called *Deütas*, yet without explaining well what they understood by this word *Deütas*; as our antient Idolaters never explained what they meant by these words *Genius* and *Numina*, which is (I think) the same with *Deüta* among the Indians. 'Tis true, that I have spoken with others of the most knowing amongst them, who said, that these three Beings were indeed nothing but one and the same God, considered three manner of ways, *viz.* as he is the Producer, Conservator, and Destroyer of things; but they said nothing of three distinct Persons in one onely Deity.

Moreover I have seen the Reverend Father *Roa*, a German Jesuit and Missionary at *Agra*, who being well ver-

sed in their *Hanscrit*, maintained that their Books did not onely import, there was one God in three Persons, but that even the *second* Person of their Trinity was incarnated nine times. And that I may not be thought to ascribe to my self the writings of others, I shall relate unto you word for word, what a certain *Carmelite* of *Chiras* hath lighted upon, which he related when the above-mentioned Father *Roa* passed that way to come back to *Rome*. The *Gentils* (saith he) do hold, that the *second* Person of the Trinity was incarnated nine times, and *that* because of divers necessities of the World, from which he hath delivered it: But the *eighth* Incarnation is the most notable; for they hold, that the World being inflaved under the power of Giants, it was redeemed by the *second* Person, incarnated and born of a Virgin at midnight, the Angels singing in the Air, and the Heavens pouring down a shower of flowers all that night. This favours much  
of

of Christianity: But then there follows a Fable again, which is, That this God incarnat killed first of all a Giant that flew in the Air, and was so big as to obscure the Sun, and by his fall to make the Earth to shake, and that by his great weight he sunk as deep as Hell; that this God incarnate being wounded in the side, in the first conflict with this Giant, fell, but by his fall put his Enemies to flight; that after he had raised himself again, and redeemed the World, he ascended into Heaven; and that by reason of his wound, he is commonly called the *Wounded in his Side*. In the *tenth* Incarnation, which shall then be, when according to our supputation Antichrist shall come, the World shall be delivered from the slavery of the Mahumetans: But this is only a vulgar Tradition, which is not found in their Books.

They say also, that the *Third Person of the Trinity hath manifested himself to the World; concerning which they relate, That the Daughter of*



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of a certain King, being fit to be married, and asked by her Father, whom she would marry, answered, that she would not be united but to a Divine Person; and that at the same time, the Third Person of the Trinity appeared to the King in the form of Fire; that that King forthwith gave notice of it to his Daughter, who presently consented to the Marriage: That this Person of the Trinity, though altogether in a fiery appearance, was called before the King's Council, and seeing that the Counsellors opposed this Marriage, took hold of their Beards and burned them together with the whole Royal Palace, and then married the Daughter. Ridiculous!

They add, that the first Incarnation of the second Person, was in the nature of a *Lion*; the second, in that of a *Swine*; the third, in that of a *Tortoise*; the fourth, in that of a *Serpent*; the fifth, in that of a *Brahma* *Shee-Dwarf*, onely a foot and a half high; the sixth, in that of a Monster,  
a Man-

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a *Man-Lion*; the seventh, in that of a *Dragon*; the eighth, as hath been said already; the ninth, in an *Ape*; the tenth, in that of a great *Cavalier*.

Concerning this I shall acquaint you, that I doubt not but that the Reverend Father *Roa*, hath taken all he saith of this matter out of the Books of the *Gentiles*, and that is the main ground of their *Mythology*. I had written many things of it at large in my Papers, and had also taken the *Figures of their Gods or Idols*, which I had seen in their Temples, having also got of them the Characters of their Language *Hanscrit*; but finding at my return all those things, or at least the best part of it Printed in the *China Illustrata* of Father *Kircher*, who had obtained it at *Rome* from the same Father *Roa*; I shall content my self to have named the Book to you. 'Tis true, that the word *Incar-nation*, which the Reverend Father useth, was new to me, having never seen it so expressly used; I had onely heard some *Pendets* thus explaining the

the thing, *viz.* That God had formerly appeared in those Figures, when he did all those wonders they relate. Others explained it to me after this manner, to wit, That it was the Soul of certain Great Men, such as we might call *Hero's*, that had passed into these Bodies, and that these Hero's were thus become *Deütas*, or, to speak in the phrase of our old Idolaters, some powerful and considerable Divinities, *Numen's*, *Genio's*, *Demons*, *Spirits*; for I see not that this word *Deüta* can signifie any other thing: But this second Explication of the *Pendets*, cometh in effect to the first, for as much as most of them believe, that our Souls are portions of God.

Others there were that gave me a much sublimer Explication, saying, That all those *Incarnations* or *Apparitions*, which their Books speak of, are not to be understood according to the Letter, but *Myftically*, forasmuch as thereby are explained the several Attributes of God. Some there were,

were, and those of the most Learned,  
acknowledging to me candidly, that  
there was nothing more fabulous  
then those Incarnations, and that  
they were only the Inventions of Le-  
gislators, to retain People in some  
Religion: And though this were so,  
if there were nothing else but this,  
(which is common to them all) that  
our Souls were portions of the Deity,  
it were to be exploded in sound Phi-  
losophy, without making any Myste-  
ries in Religion of it, seeing that in  
respect of our Souls we should be  
*God*, and that in effect it should be  
our selves that had imposed upon us  
a Religious Worship, Metempsycho-  
ses, Paradise and Hell, which would  
be ridiculous.

I shall here add a few words, to de-  
clare that I am not lesse obliged to  
Monsieur *Henry Lor*, and to Monsieur  
*Abraham Roger*, then to the Reverend  
Fathers *Kircher* and *Roa*. I had com-  
pild an hundred things relating to the  
Gentiles, which I found in the Books  
of those Gentlemen, and which would  
have



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have been a great trouble to me to range them as they have done. I shall therefore content my self to say something in general to you of their *Studies and Sciences*; not indeed in that good order which possibly you might expect, but just as I have learnt it, and as 'tis probably found in their Books; I mean by fragments, and without coherence.

The Town of Benares, which is seated upon the Ganges in a very fine and rich Country and place, is the General School, and as 'twere the Athens of the Gentry of the Indies, where the *Brachmans* and the *Religious* (those that addict themselves to study) come together. They have no Colledges nor *Classes* ordered as with us: me thinks, 'tis more after the way of the School of the Antients; the Masters being dispersed over the Town in their Houses, and especially in the Gardens of the Suburbs, where the great Merchants do suffer them. Of these Masters some have four Disciples; others, six or seven; and the most

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most famous, twelve or fifteen at most, who spend ten or a douzen years with them. All this study goeth on very coolly, because most Indians are of a slow and lazy humour, to which the heat and diet of the Country contributes much; and because they are not animated to industry as we, by that great emulation, and by the great hopes we have of coming thereby to great preferment. They study leisurely, and without much tormenting themselves; eating their *Kichery* or mixture of Legums, which the rich Merchants cause to be dressed for them.

Their first study is of the *Hanscrit*, which is a Language altogether different from the common Indian, and not known but by the *Pendets*. And this is that Tongue, of which Father *Kircher* hath published the Alphabet received from Father *Roa*. It is called *Hanscrit*, that is, a pure Language; and because they believe this to be the Tongue, in which God, by the means of *Brabma*, gave them the four  
Beths;

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*Beths*, which they esteem *Sacred Books*, they call it an Holy and Divine Language. They pretend also, that it is as antient as *Brahma*, whose Age they do not reckon but by *Lecques*, or hundred thousands of years. But I would gladly have a warrant for such an extraordinary Antiquity. However, it cannot be denied that 'tis very old, in regard that the Books of their Religion, which certainly is very antient, are written in this Tongue: and besides that, it hath its Authors in Philosophy and Physick in Verses, and some other Poems, and many other Books, of which I have seen a great Hall quite full in *Benares*.

After they have learned the *Hanscrit* (which is very difficult to them, because they have no Grammer worth any thing) they commonly apply themselves to read the *Purane*, which is as twere the interpretation and sum of the *Beths*, which are very large; at least if those be they which were shewed me at *Benares*: And besides  
they

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they are so very rare, that my *Agah* could never finde them to be sold, what industry soever he used in it. And they keep them very secret, for fear least the Mahumetans should lay their hands on them and burn them, as they have already done several times.

After the *Purane* some fall upon Philosophy, wherein certainly they go not far. I have already intimated, that they are of a slow and lazy temper, and are not excited by the hopes to obtain some good place by their study.

Among their Philosophers there have principally been six very famous, who make so many different Sects; which causeth also a difference and an emulation among the *Pendets* or Doctors: For they know, that such an one is of this Sect, another of another, and every one of them pretends his Doctrine to be better then that of others, and more conform to the *Beths*. There is indeed another, a seventh Sect, which is called Banté,  
L whence



whence do proceed twelve other different Sects; but this is not so common as the others, the Votaries of it being hated and despised as a company of irreligious and atheistical people, nor do they live like the rest.

All these Books speak of the *first principles* of things, but very differently. Some say, that all is composed of little Bodies that are indivisible, not by reason of their solidity, hardness and resistance, but smallness; adding divers things which approach to the opinions of Democritus and Epicurus but with so much confusion that one knows not where to fasten, all seeming like a rope of sand: which yet may be as much or more the fault of the *Pendets*, which seem to me very ignorant then of the Authors.

Others say, that all is made up of matter and form; but not one of them explains himselfe clearly about the matter, and less about the form. Yet so much I have found, that they understand them not at all as they are wont to be explained in our Schools,  
educing

by educing the Form out of the power of the Matter : For they always al-  
ledge Examples of things Artificial,  
and among them that of a Vessel of  
soft Clay, which a Potter turns and  
shapes divers ways.

Others hold, that all is composed  
of four Elements and a nothing; but  
they do not at all explain themselves  
concerning Mixtion and Transmuta-  
tion. And as for their nothing, which  
comes near to our privation, they ad-  
mit I know not how many sorts of  
them, which (I believe) they under-  
stand not at all, nor are able to make  
out to others.

There are also some, that maintain  
light and darkness to be the first Prin-  
ciples, and say a thousand impertinent  
and confused things upon it, making  
long-winded discourses, which fa-  
vour nothing at all of Philosophy,  
but are like the talk of the vulgar.

Others there are that admit priva-  
tion for the Principle, or rather priva-  
tions, which they distinguish from no-  
thing, and of which they make long

enumerations, so useless and little philosophical, that I can scarce imagine them to be in their Books, or that their Authors could have entertained themselves with such uncouth things.

Lastly, some of them do pretend that all is composed of accidents; of which also they make odd, long, and tedious enumerations, and such as favour only some Pettifogger, that can amuse the common People.

Touching these Principles in general, they all agree that they are eternal; our production out of nothing not having come (it seems) into their thoughts, as it hath neither to many others of the antient Philosophers: Yet they say, that there is one of them that hath touched something of it.

As to Physick, they have many little Books that are rather collections of receipts than any thing else; the most antient and chief whereof is in Verse. I shall here tell you, that their practice is sufficiently different from ours, and that they ground  
them-

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themselves upon these Principles: *That one who is sick of a Feaver, needs no great nourishment: That the main Remedy of sicknesses, is Abstinence: That nothing is worse for a sick Body then Flesh-broth, nor which corrupts sooner in the Stomach of a feaverish Patient: That no Blood is to be let but in great and evident necessity,* as when you apprehend some translation into the Brain, or finde some considerable part, as the Chest, Liver, Kidneys, enflamed.

Whether this Practice be better then ours, I leave to Physicians to decide; but I see that 'tis successful among them. The same Practice is not peculiar to the Physicians of the Gentils, but the Mogolian and Mahumetan Doctors, that follow *Avicen* and *Averroes*, do also very strictly observe it, especially as to Meat-broths. 'Tis true that the *Mogols* are somewhat more prodigal of their Blood then the *Gentils*, for in those sicknesses wherein they fear those accidents lately specified, they commonly blood once or twice:



but these are none of those petty venesections of the new invention of *Goa* and *Paris*, but they are of those plentiful ones used by the Antients, of 18. or 20. ounces of Blood, which often come to a swoounding, and frequently choak the Disease in the very beginning, as *Galen* saith, and as I have often experimented.

Concerning *Anatomy*, I may safely say, that the Gentils understand nothing at all of it, and they can speak nothing as to that subject but what is impertinent. Nor is it a wonder they are so ignorant in it, since they never open any Body of Man or Beast: they do so much abhor it, that when I opened some living Kids and Sheep before my *Agah*, to make him understand the Circulation of the Blood, and to shew him the *Pecquetian* Vessels, through which the Chyle at last comes into one of the ventricles of the Heart, they trembled for fear and ran away. Yet notwithstanding they affirm, that there are five thousand Veins in Man, neither more nor less,

as if they had well counted them all.

Touching *Astronomy*, they have their Tables, according to which they foresee the *Eclipses*; and though they do it not with that exactness as our European Astronomers, yet they come pretty near. Mean time they discourse of the *Eclipse* of the Moon, as they do upon that of the Sun, believing that it is the *Rab*, that black Villain, and mischievous *Denta*, who 108 at that time seizeth on the Moon and blackens her. They hold also, that the Moon is an hundred thousand *kesses*, that is, above fifty thousand Leagues above the Sun; that she is lucid of her self; and that 'tis she, from whom we receive a certain Vital Water, which gathereth and disposeth it self in the Brain, descending thence as from a source into all the members for their functions. Besides this, they are of opinion, that the Sun and Moon, and generally all Stars are *Dentas*; that 'tis night when the Sun is behind the *Someire*, that imaginary Mountain, which they place in the

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midst of the Earth, and make I know not how many thousand Leagues high, and to which they give the shape of an inverted Sugar-loaf; so that 'tis not day with them, but when the Sun gets out from behinde this Mountain.

In *Geography* they have sped no better. They believe the Earth to be flat and triangular, and that it hath seven stories, all differing in beauty, perfection, and inhabitants; each of which is encompassed, they say, by its Sea; that of these Seas one is of Milk, another of Sugar, the third of Butter, the fourth of Wine, and so forth: so that after one Earth there comes a Sea, and after a Sea an Earth, and so on unto seven, beginning from *Someire*, which is in the midst of these stories: that the first story, which is at the foot of *Someire*, hath *Dentas* for its inhabitants, which are very perfect; that the second contains likewise *Dentas*, but less perfect; and so the rest, still lessening the perfection unto the seventh, which they say

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is ours, that is, of men far less perfect then all the *Dentus*; and lastly, that this whole Mass is sustained upon the heads of divers Elephants which when they stir, cause an Earthquake.

All these strange impertinences, which I have had the patience to relate, have often made me think, that if *they* be those famous Sciences of the antient *Brahmans* of the Indies, very many have been deceived in the great opinion they entertained of them. For my part, I can hardly believe it, but that I finde the Religion of the Indians to be from immemorial times; that 'tis written in the Language *Hanscrit*, which cannot be but very antient, since its beginning is unknown, and 'tis a *dead* Language, not understood but by the Learned; that all their Books are only written in that Tongue: All which are as many marks of a very great Antiquity. Let us now add a few words about the worship of their Idols.

When I descended along the River  
*Ganges,*



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*Ganges*, and passed through *Banares*, that famous School of all the Indian Gentility, I went to see the chief of the *Pendets*, who hath there his ordinary residence. This is a *Fakire*, or Religious Monk, so renowned for his knowledge, that *Chah-Jehan*, partly for his Science, partly to please the *Rajas*, gave him a Pension of 2000. Roupies, that is, about 1000. Crowns. This was a big and proper Man, goodly to look on; who for all his Cloaths had nothing but a white silken Scarf, tied about his waste, and hanging down to his mid-leg, with another red Scarf about his shoulders like a little Cloak. I had often seen him at *Dehli* in this posture before the King, in the Assembly of all the *Omrahs*, and marching upon the Streets, sometimes on foot, sometimes in a *Palekey*. I had also frequently seen and many times conversed with him, when for a whole year together he constantly came to our conference before my *Agab*, whom he courted, that he might procure him again that Pension which

which *Aureng-Zebe* (being come to the Crown) had taken from him, that he might appear a great Musulman. In the visit I made him at *Banares*, he was exceedingly courteous to me, and even gave me a Collation in the Library of his University, attended with six of the most famous *Pendets* of the Town. When I found my self in so good Company, I prayed them all to tell me their sense about the Adoration of their Idols; intimating to them, that I was leaving the Indies; extreamly scandalized upon that score; and reproaching them, that that worship was a thing against all reason, and altogether unworthy such Schollars and Philosophers as they were. Whereupon I received this answer.

*We have indeed (said they) in our Deuras or Temples store of diverse Statues, as those of Brahma, Mehaden, Genich and Gavani, who are some of the chief and the most perfect Deutas: and we have also many others of less perfection, to whom we pay great honour,*  
pro-

172 *The Gentils of Indostan.*

*prostrating our selves before them, and presenting them Flowers, Rice, scented Oyls, Saffron and such other things with much Ceremony: but we do not believe these Statues to be Brahma or Bechen, &c. themselves, but only their Images and Representations, and we do not give them that honour, but upon the account of what they represent. They are in our Temples, because 'tis necessary for praying well, to have something before our eyes that may fix the mind; and when we pray, it is not the Statue we pray to, but he that is represented by it. For the rest, we acknowledge that 'tis God that is absolute, and the only Omnipotent Lord and Master.*

*This is, without adding or subtracting any thing, the resolution they gave me. But, to tell you true, this seemed a little too much accommodated to our Christianity, in respect of what I had learned of it from several other Pundets.*

*After this, I put them upon their Chronology, where they pretended to shew me far higher Antiquities than*  
all

all ours. They will not say, that the World is eternal; but they make it so old, that I almost know not which is best. Its determined duration, say they, is of four Dgugue. This Dgugue is a certain determined number of years, as amongst us we have a seculum (an Age) with this difference that an Age of ours contains only an hundred Years, but their Dgugue is made up of an hundred Lecques, that is, an hundred times hundred thousand years. I do not precisely remember the number total of the years of each Dgugue; but this I know very well, that the first, called Sate-Dgugue, is of twenty five Lecques of years: that the second, which they call Trita, is of above twelve Lecques: the third, called Duaper, of eight Lecques and sixty four thousand years, if I remember well: and the fourth, called Kale-Dgugue, is of I know not how many Lecques. The three first, say they, and much of the fourth, are elapsed; so that the World shall not last so long as it hath done, because it is to perish



at the end of the fourth, all things being then to return to their first Principles. I made them compute again and again, to have their age of the World aright; but finding that that perplexed them, and that they agreed not among themselves about the number of the *Leagues*, I contented myself to see that they make the World exceeding old. But being pressed a little to make out this Antiquity, they pay you with nothing but little stories, and at length come to this, that they find it so in their *Beths*, or the Books of their Law, given them by the hands of *Brahma*.

After this I urged them concerning the nature of their *Dentas*, of which I desired to be particularly instructed; but I received nothing but what was very confused. They said, that there were three sorts of them, Good, Evil, and Indifferent ones, that were neither good nor bad; that some thought, they were made of Fire, others of Light; others that they were *Biapek*, of which word I could

The Gentils of Indostan. 175

could not get a clear explication; only they said, that God was *Biapek*, and our Soul was *Biapek*, and what is *Biapek* is incorruptible, and depends neither from Time nor Place: That others would have them to be nothing else but Portions of the Deity; and lastly that some there were, that made them certain kinds of Divinities severed and dispensed over the World.

I remember, that I also put them upon the nature of the *Leugne-cherire*, which some of their Authors do admit: But I could obtain nothing else of it but what I had long since understood from our *Pendot*, which was, That the seeds of Plants and Animals are not formed anew, but were contrived in the first production of the World, and dispensed abroad everywhere and mixed in all things; & that they are (not only potentially but actually) the very and entire Plant and Animals, though so small, that their parts cannot be distinguished, but when being put into a convenient womb

176 **The Gentils of Indostan.**

womb, and there nourished, they extend themselves and increase: So that the seeds of an Apple and Pear-Tree are a *Lengue-cherire*, that is, a little entire and perfect Apple and Pear-Tree, having all its essential parts: And so the seeds of an Horse, an Elephant, and a Man, &c. are a *Lengue-cherire*; a little Horse, a little Elephant, a little Man, in which there wants nothing but the Soul and Nourishment to make them appear what they are.

For a conclusion, I shall discover to you the mystery of a great *Cabala*, which in these last years hath made great noise in *Indostan*, because certain *Pendets*, or Heathenish Doctors, had possessed with it the mindes of *Dara* and *Sultan-Sujah*, the two first Sons of *Chah-Jehan*.

You cannot but know the Doctrine of many of the Antient Philosophers, touching that great *Soul of the World*, which they will have our Souls and those of Animals to be portions of. If we did well penetrate into *Plato* and *Aristotle*,

*Aristotle*, we might perhaps find that they were of this sentiment. It is in a manner the general Doctrine of the Heathen *Pendets* of the Indies, and 'tis the same which still maketh the *Cabala* of the *Soufys*, and of the greatest part of the learned Men in *Persia*, and which is found explained in Persian Verses, so sublime and emphatical in their *Goultchen-raz*, or Parterre of Mysteries: which is also the very same of *Dr. Flud's*, whom our great *Gassendus* hath so learnedly refuted; and that wherein most Chymists lose themselves. But these Indian Cabalists or *Pendets* I speak of, drive this impertinence farther than all those Philosophers, and pretend, that God, or that Sovereign Being, which they call *Achar*, (immutable,) hath produced or drawn out of his own substance, not only *Souls*, but also whatever is *material* and corporeal in the Universe; and that this production was not meerly made by way of an efficient cause, but by a way resembling a Spider that produceth a web, which it  
draws



draws forth out of its own body, and takes in again when it will. Creation therefore, say these Doctors, is nothing else but an extraction and extension, which God maketh of his own Substance, of those webbs he draws from his own Bowels; as Destruction is nothing else but a reprisal, or taking back again this Divine Substance, and these Divine webbs into himself. So that the last day of the World, which they call *Ma-perlé* or *Praled*, when they believe that all shall be destroyed, shall be nothing else but a general reprisal of all those webbs which God had drawn forth out of himself. There is therefore nothing *(so they go on)* that is real or effective in all we think we see, hear, smell, taste or touch: all this World is nothing but a kind of Dream and a meer Illusion, in regard that all this multiplicity and diversity of things that appear to us, is nothing but one and the same thing, which is *God himself*; as all those several Numbers of 10, 20, 100, 1000, &c. are indeed nothing

**The Gen:ls of Indostan. 177**

thing but one and the same unity many times repeated. But if you demand any reason for this phantasie, or any explication of the manner, how this issuing *from* and reprisal *into* the substance of God, this extension; and this variety of things is made; or how it can be, that God, being not corporeal but *Biupak* and incorruptible, (as they acknowledge) should yet be divisible into so many portions of Bodies and Souls; they never make any other return, but of some pretty comparisons, as, That God is like an immense Ocean, in which if many Vials full of Water should be floating, they would, wherever they should move, be found always in the same Ocean; in the same Water; and that coming to break, their Water would at the same time be united with their whole, and with that great Ocean of which they were portions. Or they will tell you, that it is with God as with *Light*, which is the same through the whole Universe, and which yet appears an hundred different ways, according to the diversity

171 **The Gentils of Indostan.**

versity of the Objects it falls upon, or according to the several colours and shapes of Glasses through which it shineth. They will pay you, *I say*, only with such kind of similitudes, that bear no proportion at all with God, and are good for nothing, but to cast dust into the eyes of the ignorant people: And you must not expect any solid Answer from them, if you should tell them, that those Vials would indeed be in a *like* Water, but not in *the same*; and that it is indeed a *like* light over all the World, but not *the same*: or if you should make any other objections against them, they return always to the same comparisons, pretty expressions, or as the *Sonfy*, to the fine Verses of their *Goulchen-raz*.

Now Sir, what think you? Had I not reason, from this great heap of extravagancies, I mean, from that panick and childish terror struck into those Indians by Eclipses; from that superstitious compassion for the Sun to deliver it from that black *Demon*,

accompanied with those Apish Prayers, Washings, Plungings, and Alms cast into the River; from that mad and infernal obstinacy of the Women, burning themselves with the Corps's of their Husbands; from those several madnesses of the *Fakires*; and lastly, from all that fabulous stuff of the *Beths* and other Indian Books: Had I not reason, I say, to premise in the title of this Letter, (which is but a poor advantage to me from so long travelling) *That there are no opinions so ridiculous or extravagant, of which the mind of man is not capable.*

*To conclude*, I have no more to add then to desire you, to do me the favor and deliver with your own hands the Letter to Monsieur *Chapelle*. It is he that first procured me that familiar acquaintance I had with Monsieur *Gassendi*, your intimate and illustrious Friend, that hath been so advantageous to me; which maketh me acknowledge my great obligations to him, and exceedingly engageth me to love him, and to remember him in



173. **The Gentleman of Indostan.**

what part of the World soever I am:  
As I am no less bound to honour you  
as long as I live, as well for the pecu-  
liar affection you have always expres-  
sed to me, as for the good counsel you  
have assisted me with in your many  
letters during the whole course of my  
voayges, & for that favour of sending  
to me with so much generosity (with-  
out interest or money) unto the end  
of the world, whither my curiosity  
had carried me, a Chest of Books,  
when those, of whom I demanded  
them for money, ordered by me to  
be paid at *Marseilles*, and who should  
have honestly sent them me, aban-  
doned me there, and laught at all  
my Letters, looking upon me as a  
lost man, whom they should never see  
again.

**FINIS.**

A  
CONTINUATION  
OF THE  
HISTORIE

OF  
*Monsieur Bernier,*  
Concerning the EMPIRE of  
the GREAT MOGOL.

PARTICULARLY

A Relation of the Voyage made A. 1664  
by the 'great Mogol *Aurenge Zebe*, mar-  
ching with his Army from *Dehly* to *La-*  
*hor*, from *Labur* to *Bember*, and from  
*Bember* to the Kingdom of *Kachemire*, by  
the Mogols called the *Paradise of the*  
*Indies*.

TOME 'IV.

London Printed by S. G. and sold by *Mose-*  
*Pitt* at the Signe of the White Hart in  
*Little Britain*.



A  
RELATION  
OF

A Voyage, made in the year.  
1664. When the Great Mo-  
gol *Aureng-Zebe* went with  
his Army from *Dehli*, the Ca-  
pital of *Indostan*, to *Labor*;  
from *Labor* to *Bember*, and  
from thence to the Kingdom  
of *Cachemeire*, commonly  
call'd by the *Mogols*

T H E

Paradise

Of the

INDIES, &c.

By way of several Letters, written  
by the Author to his Friends.

A a

THE



2 A Voyage to Kachemire,

The First

# LETTER TO

*Monsieur de Merveilles.*

Written at Dehli, Decemb. 1664. Aurang-Zebe being ready to march.

## CONTAINING

*The Occasion and Cause of this Voyage of Aurang zebe; together with an account of the state and posture of his Army, and the Equipage and ordinary Provisions of the chief of his Cavalry; and some curious particulars observable in the Voyages of the Indies.*

S I R,

Since that Aurang-zebe began to find himself in better health, it hath been constantly reported, that he would make a Voyage to *Labor*, and go from thence to *Kachemire*, to change the Air, and to be out of the way of the approaching Summer-heats,

## the Paradise of Indostan. 3

heats, for fear of a relapse: That the more intelligent sort of men would hardly be perswaded, that as long as he kept his Father *Chab-jean* prisoner in the Fort of *Agra*, he would think it safe to be at such a distance. Yet notwithstanding we have found, that Reason of State hath given place to that of Health, or rather to the Intrigues of *Ranohenara-Begum*, who was wild to breath a more free Air than that of the *Seraglio*, and to have her turn in shewing her self to a gallant and magnificent Army, as her Sister *Begum-Jahed* had formerly done during the Reign of *Chach-jean*.

He departed then the 6th of December, about three a clock in the afternoon, a day and hour that must needs be fortunate for a great Voyage, if we may give credit to the Gentlemen Astrologers, who have so decreed it. And he arrived at *Chach-limar*, his House of Pleasure, distant about two Leagues from hence; where he spent six whole  
A a 2                      days,

4 A Voyage to Kachomire

dayes, thereby to give to all sufficient time to make necessary preparations for a Voyage, that would take up a year and an half. We have this day news, that he is gone to encamp on the way of *Lahor*; and that, when he hath stay'd there two dayes, he intends to continue his march without any further expectation. He hath with him not only the Thirty five thousand Horse, or thereabout, and 10000 Foot but also both his Artilleries, the great or heavy, & the small or lighter, which is call'd The Artillery of the Stirrup, because it is inseparable from the person of the King, whereas the Heavy sometimes leaveth him to keep the high and well beaten Roads.

153

The Great Artillery is made up of seventy pieces, most of them call'd Howitzers, and are so ponderous, that they need twenty yokes of Oxen to draw them, and some of them require Elephants to help all those Oxen, by thrusting and drawing the wheels of the Waggon with their

the Paradise of Indostan. 5

their Trunks and Heads, when they  
sick in any deep way, or are to pass  
some steep mountain. That of the  
*Stirrup* is composed of fifty or sixty  
small Field-pieces, all of Brass, each  
carried upon a little pretty and paint-  
ed Charriot (as hath been already  
said in another place) beautified with  
many little red Streamers, and drawn  
by two very handsome Horses, driven  
by the Gunner himself, together with  
a third Horse, which the Gunners As-  
sistant leads for a relief. All these  
Charriots go alwayes a great pace,  
that they may be soon enough in or-  
der before the Tent of the King, 135: b  
and discharge all at once at the time  
of his entry, to give the Army no-  
tice.

All these great preparations give  
us cause to apprehend, that instead  
of going to *Kachemire*, we be not led  
to besiege that important City of  
*Kandahar*, which is the Frontier to  
*Persia*, *Indostan* and *Usbeck*, and the  
Capital of an excellent Country,  
yielding a very great Revenue, and



6      **A** Voyage to Kachemire,  
which for this very reason hath been  
ever the bone of contention between  
the *Persians* and *Indians*. Whatever  
it be, there is now a necessity to dis-  
patch at *Dehli*, any business whatso-  
ever notwithstanding; and I should  
find my self much cast behind the  
Army, if I should tarry any longer:  
Besides I know, that my *Navab*, or  
*Agah Danech-mend-kan* stays for me  
abroad with impatience: He can no  
more be without philosophising in  
the afternoon upon the Books of *Gas-  
sendi* and *Des-Cartes*, upon the *Globe*  
and the *Sphere*, or upon *Anatomy*,  
than he can be without bestowing the  
whole morning upon the weighty  
matters of the Kingdom, in the qua-  
lity of Secretary of State for forrain  
Affairs, and of Great Master of the  
Cavalry. I shall depart this night,  
after I have given the last order for all  
my businesses, and provided all ne-  
cessaries for my Voyage, as all the  
principal persons of the Cavalry do;  
that is, two good Tartarian Horses,  
whereto I am obliged by reason of  
the

**the Paradise of Indostan. 7**

the one hundred and fifty Crowns of pay, which I have by the month; a Camel of *Persia*, and a Groom, a Cook, and another Servant, which must be had ordinarily to march in these Countries before the Horse, and to carry a Flaggon with water in his hand. I also have provided the ordinary Utensils, such as are a Tent of a middle size, and a proportionat piece of foot-Tapistry; and a little Bed with girdles, made up with four strong and light Canes, and a Pillow for the head, two Coverlets, whereof one folded up fourfold serveth for a Matrasse, a round Table-cloth of Leather to eat upon; some Napkins of dyed Cloth, and three small Sacks for Plate, which are put up in a greater Sack, and this sack into a very great and strong Sack made of Girdles, in which are put all the provisions, together with the Linnen of the Master and Servants. I have also made provision of excellent Rice for five or six dayes, for fear I should

## 8      A Voyage to Kachemire

not alwayes find so good; of some Sweet Biscuit, with Sugar and Anis; of a linnen sleeve with its little iron-hook, to let, by the means thereof, run out and to keep curdled milk; and of store of Limons with Sugar to make Limonade; such Milk and Limonade being the two great and soverain refreshments of the Indies: All which, as I said, is put into the last named Sack, which is so large and heavy, that three or four men have pains enough to lift it up; though two men do first fold and turn one side upon the other when it is full, and though the Camel be made to stoop very nigh it, and there need no more than to turn one of the sides of that Sack upon the Camel. All this equipage and provision is absolutely necessary in such Voyages as these. We must not look for such good lodging and accommodations as we have in our Country. We must resolve to encamp and live after the *Arabian* and *Tartarian* mode, without

the Paradise of Indostan. 19

without expecting any other Inns than Tents. Nor must we think to plunder the Country-man; all the Lands of the Kingdom being in propriety to the King: We are well to consider, that we must be sober and prudent, and that to ruine the Country man, were to ruine the Demesne of the King. That which much comforts me in this march, is, that we go North-ward, and depart in the beginning of the Winter after the rains; which is the right season for traveling in the Indies, because it raineth not, and we are not so much incommoded by heat and dust. Besides that, I find my self out of danger of eating the bread of Bazar, or of the Market, which ordinarily is ill baked, full of sand and dust; nor obliged to drink of those naughty waters, which being all turbid, and full of nastiness of so many people and beasts that fetch thence, and enter into them, do cause such fevers, which are very hard to cure, and which breed also certain



10 **Uoyage to Kachemire,**  
certain very dangerous worms in the  
legs. They at first cause a great in-  
flammation, accompanied with a fea-  
ver, and ordinarily come forth a little  
after the Voyage, although there have  
been some, that have stay'd a whole  
year and more before they appear'd.  
They are commonly of the bigness &  
length of a small Vial-tring, so that  
one would sooner take them for some  
nerve than for a worm; and they must  
be drawn out little by little, from day  
to day, gently winding them about a  
little twig of the bigness of a needle,  
for fear of breaking them. This, I  
say, comforteth me not a little, that  
I find my self exempt from these in-  
conveniencies; my *Navab* having  
housholded me a very particular fa-  
vour, which is, that he hath appoint-  
ed to give me every day a new loaf of  
his house, and a *Sowry* of the water  
of *Ganges*, with which he hath laden se-  
veral camels of his train, as the whole  
Court doth. *Sowry* is that Tin-fla-  
gon full of water, which the Servant,  
that

the Paradise of Indostan. 11

that marcheth on foot before the Gentleman on horseback, carrieth in his hand, wrap't up in a sleeve of red cloth. Ordinarily it holdeth but one pinte; but I had some of them expressly made, that hold two. We shall see, whether this cunning will succeed. The water cooleth very well in this Flagon, provided that care be had alwayes to keep the sleeve moist, and that the Servant that holds it in his hand, do march and stir the air, or else that it be held towards the wind; as is commonly done upon three pretty little sticks, crossing one another, that they may not touch the earth: For the moistness of the linnen, the agitation of the air, or the wind, are absolutely necessary to keep the water fresh; as if this moistness, or rather the water imbibed by the sleeve did keep out the little igneous bodies or spirits that are in the air, at the same time when it giveth entrance to the nitrous or other parts, which hinder the motion  
in

in the water, and cause coolness; in the same manner as Glass keeps out Water, and giveth passage to the Light, by reason of the particular texture and disposition of the parts of the Glass, and the diversity there must be between the particles of Light and those of Water. We do not use this Tin flaggon for keeping our water cool but in the field: When we are at home, we use Jars of a certain porous Earth, in which it is much better cooled, provided it be expos'd to the wind, and moisten'd with a Linpen-cloth, or the Flaggon; or else it is made of Salt-peter, as all persons of quality do, whether in Towns, or in the Army. They put water, or any other liquor, to be cooled, in a round and long-necked Tin-flaggon, such as are the English Bottles, and for the space of half a quarter of an hour this Flaggon is put in water, into which hath been put three or four handfuls of Salt-peter; this maketh

maketh the water very cold, neither is it unwholsome, as I did apprehend, but only that sometimes it causeth gripings at first when one is not accustomed to it.

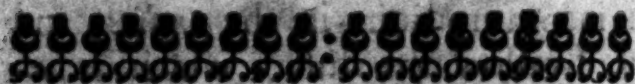
But to what purpose, to play so much the Philosopher, when we should think to depart, and to endure the Sun, which at all seasons is incommodious in the *Indies*, and to swallow the dust, which is never wanting in the Army; to put up, to load, and to unload every day our Baggage, to help the Servants to fasten sticks, to draw Cords, to put up Tents, and to take them down again, to march in the day, and in the night, to devour cold and heat, and in a word, to turn *Arabians* for a year and an half, during which time we are to be in the Field. *Adieu*, I shall not fail to acquit my self of my promise, and from time to time to inform you of our Adventures; and besides, since the Army for this

time



# 14 A Voyage to Kachemire,

time will make but small Journeys in its march, and pass on with all that pomp and magnificence, which the Kings of *Indostan* do affect, I shall endeavour to observe the most considerable things, that I may impart them to you, as soon as we shall arrive at *Labor*.



## THE SECOND LETTER:

Containing the number and magnificence, the order and the disposition of the Tents of the Great Mogol in the Field: The number of Elephants, Camels, Mules, and Porters, necessary to carry them: The disposition of the Bazaars or Royall Markets: That of the particular Quarters of the Omrahs, or Lords, and of the rest of the Army: The extent of the whole Army, when encamped: The confusion there met with, and how it may be avoided: The order of preventing Robberies  
The

the Paradise of Indostan. 25

The different Manners of the March  
of the King, the Princesses, and the rest  
of the Seraglio: The danger there is  
in being too near the Women: The se-  
veral ways of the Royal Hunting, and  
how the King hunts with his whole  
Army: The abundance of people  
there is in the Army, and the method  
of making them all subsist.

SIR, **T**his indeed is called marching  
with gravity, and as we speak  
here, *à la Mogole*: it is no more but  
fifteen or sixteen dayes Journey from  
Dehli to Lahor, which make little  
more than six score Leagues, and  
yet we have spent almost two months  
on this way. 'Tis true, the King  
with the best part of the Army went  
somewhat aside from the high way,  
the better to enjoy the divertise-  
ments of Hunting, and for the con-  
veniency of the water of Genna,  
which we went to look for on the  
right hand, and which we leisurely  
followed long enough in our hunt-  
ing,

ring, crossing fields of tall grass, full of all sorts of game, where the Horsemen could scarce be seen. At present, whilst we are at rest, I am going to make good what I have promised you in the Title of this Letter; hoping shortly to make you come to Kachemire, and to shew you one of the best Countries in the world.

When the King is in the field, he hath usually two Camps, I mean two Bodies of Tents separated, to the end that when he breaketh up and leaveth one, the other may have passed before by a day, and be found ready when he arriveth at the place design'd to encamp in: And 'tis therefore, that they are called *Peiche-kanes* as if you should say, Houses going before: These two *Peiche-kanes* are almost alike, and there are requisite above threescore Elephants, more than two hundred Camels, above an hundred Mules, and as many more Porters to carry one of them. The *Elephants* carry the most bulky things, such as are the great Tents, and their great

great Pillars, which being too long and too heavy, are taken down in three peices. The *Camels* carry the lesser Tents: The *Mules*, the Baggage and Kitchens. And to the *Porters* are given all the little moveables, and such as are delicate and fine, that might easily be broken; as *Porcelain*, which the King usually imployeth at Table; those painted and gilded Beds, and those rich *Karguais*; which I shall speak of hereafter.

One of these two *Peiche-kanes*, or Bodies of Tents, is no soonen arrived at the place designed for encamping, but the Great Marshal that orders the Lodgings, chuseth some fair place for the Kings Quarters; yet with a regard, as much as is possible, to the Symmetry and order that is to be observed for the whole Army; and he marketh out a Square, of which each side is above three hundred ordinary paces long. An hundred Pikemen presently clear and level this pace, making square planes to raise the Tents upon, and surrounding



rounding all this great Square with *Kanats* or Screens seven or eight foot high, which they fasten with cords tyed to sticks, & with perches fix't in the ground, by couples, from ten to ten paces, one without, and the other within, inclining the one upon the other. These *Kanats* are made of a strong cloth lined with stained Linnen. In the middle of one of the sides of this Square is the Entry or Royal Gate, great and magnificent, and the Indian Druff which 'tis made of, as also those Stuffs, of which the whole side of the Square of the face is lined without, are far better and richer than the others.

The first and the greatest of the Tents, that is reared in this Inclosure, is called *Am-kas*, because it is the place where the King and all the Lords in the Army do assemble about nine a clock in the morning, when the *Mokam*, that is, the usual publick Meeting is held. For, the Kings of *Indoffan*, although they are in a march, do not dispense but very rarely,

**the Paradise of Indostan.** 19  
ly with this almost inviolable custom, which is pass'd into a kind of Duty and Law, viz. to appear twice a day in the Assembly, there to give order for State-Affairs, and to administer Justice.

The second, which is little less than the first, and a little further advanced into the Inclosure, is called, *Gosh-kane*, that is to say, a place to wash in: And here 'tis, where all the Lords every night meet, and where they come to salute and do obeisance to the King, as ordinarily they do when they are in the *Metropolis*. This Assembly in the evening is very inconvenient to the *Omrabs*, but it is a thing that looks great and stately, to see a-far off, in an obscure night, in the midst of a Campagne, cross all the Tents of an Army, long files of Torches lighting these *Omrabs* to the Kings Quarters, and attending them back again to their Tents. 'Tis true, that these lights are not of wax as ours, but they last very long. They are only an Iron put about a stick, at

C: 48

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the end of which are wound raggs of old Linnen from time to time, which is moistned with Oyl, held by the Link men in their hands in a Brass, or Latton-Flagon with a long and streight neck.

The third Tent, which is not much less than the two first, and is yet further advanced into the Inclosure, is called *Kalvet-kane*, that is to say, a retired or the Privy Council-place, because none but the first Officers of the Kingdom enter into it; and 'tis there where the greatest and the most important Affairs are transacted.

Yet further into the Square are the particular Tents of the King, encompass'd with small *Kanates* or Skreens, of the height of a man, and lined with stained Indian Stuff, of that elegant  
c. 54 workmanship of *Massipatan*, which do represent an hundred sorts of different flowers; and some of them lined with flowred Sattin with large Silk-fringes.

The Tents joyning to the Kings, are those of the *Begums* or Princesses, and

the Paradise of Indostan. 21

and the other great Ladies and She-Officers of the *Seraglio*, which are likewise encompass'd, as those of the King, with rich *Kanates*; and amidst all these Tents are placed those of the lower She-Officers, and other serving Women, alwayes; upon the matter, in the same order, according to their Office.

The *Am-kas*, and the five or six principal Tents are raised high, that they may be seen at a good distance, and the better fence off the heat. *Without* it is nothing but a course and strong red cloth, yet beautified and striped with certain large stripes, cut variously and advantageously to the eye: But *within* it is lined with those fine Indian flowred Stuffs, of the same work of *Maslipatam*, and this work is raised and enriched with silk, gold and silver Embroideries having great Fringes, or with some fine flowred Satin. The Pillars supporting these Tents, are painted and guild: One marcheth on nothing but rich Tapistry, having mattresses of Cotton un-



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der them four or five inches thick, and round about these Tapestries there are great square railes richly cover'd to lean upon.

In each of the two great Tents where the Assembly is kept, there is raised a Theatre richly adorned where the King giveth Audience under a great Canopy of Velvet, or purfled with gold. In the other Tents are found the like Canopics, and there you may see also set up certain *Karguain*, that is, fine Cabinets, whose little doors are shut with Silverlocks. To conceive what they are, you may represent to you two small Squares of our Skreens, set upon one another, and nearly round about fastened to one another with a Silken-string; yet so that the extremities of the sides of the uppermost come to incline upon one another, so as to make a kind of a little Tabernacle; with this difference from our Skreens, that all the sides of these are of very thin and slight Firr-boards, painted and guild without, and enriched round

round about with gold and Silk-fringes, and lined within with Scarlet, or flowered Satin, or purpled with Gold.

And this is very near, what I can tell you of what is contained within the great Square.

What concerns the particulars that are without the Square, there are first two pretty Tents on both the two sides of the great Entry or Royal Gate, where are found two choice Horses saddled, and richly harness'd, and altogether ready to be mounted upon occasion, or rather for State and Magnificence.

On the two sides of the same Gate are placed in order those fifty or threescore small Field-pieces, that make up the *Artillery* of the *Sirrup* above mention'd, and which discharge all together to salute the King d: 4  
entring into his Tent, and to give notice thereof to the whole Army.

Before the Gate there is alwaies left void, as much as may be, a great place, at the end of which there is a great Tent, called *Nagar-kane*, be-  
cause

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cause that is the place of the Timbals and Trumpets.

Near this Tent there is another great one, which is called *Tchauky-kane*, because it is the place where the *Omrabs* keep guard, every one in his turn, once a week twenty four hours together; yet notwithstanding most of the *Omrabs* on the day of their guard, cause, close by, to be rear'd one of their own Tents, to be the more at liberty, and to have more elbow-room.

Round about the three other sides of the great Square are set up all the Tents of the Officers, which are alwaies found in the same order and disposition, unless it be that the place permit it not: They have all their peculiar names; but as they are hard to pronounce, and I pretend not to reach you the language of the Country, it will be sufficient to tell you, that there is a particular one for the Arms of the King; another for the rich Harnesses of Horses; another for Vests purfled with Gold, which  
are

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are the ordinary Presents bestow'd by the King. Besides, there are four more near one another; the first of which is designed for keeping Fruit; the second for Comfits; the third for *Ganges-water*, and the Salt-peter to cool it; and the fourth for the *Betele*, c: 76 which is that Leaf, whereof I have spoken elsewhere, which is offered to friends, as *Coffee* is in *Turky*, and chew'd to make ruddy lips, and a sweet breath. Next to these, there are fifteen or sixteen others that serve for kitchens and what belongs to them. Amongst all these Tents are those of a great number of Officers and Eunuchs. Lastly, there are four or five long ones for led Horses; and some others for the best Elephants; and all those that are for hunting. For there must needs be a retreat for all that great number of Birds of prey, that are alwaies carried for Game and Magnificence; and so there must be for those many Dogs, and those Leopards serving to take wild Goats; for those *Nilgaus*, or gray



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gray Oxen, which I take for Elchs; for those Lions and Rhinoceros's, that are led for greatness; for those great Bufalo's of Bengale fighting with Lions; and lastly for those tamed wild Goats, they call Gazelles, that are made to sport before the King.

This vast number of Tents, now spoken of, together with those that are within the great Square, make up the king's Quarter, which is alwaies in the middle, and as 'twere in the center of the Army, except the place do not allow it. It will easily be thence concluded, that this Quarter of the King must needs be something great and royal, and afford a very fine prospect, if one behold from some high place this great body of red tents in the midst of the Army, encamped in a fair and even Campagne, where may be fully seen all that order and disposition that is to be observed in the whole.

After that the Great Marshal of the Camp hath chosen a place fit for the King's Quarter, and hath made  
the

the *Am-kas* to be set up highest of all the Tents, and by which he is to take his measure for the ordering and disposing the rest of the Army accordingly; He then marketh out the Royal *Bazars* or Markets, whence the whole Army is furnisht with necessaries; drawing the first and the chief of all, like a great street running straight, and a great free way traversing the whole Army, now on the right hand, and by and by on the left of the *Am-kas* and the king's Quarter, and alwaies in the straightest line that may be towards the encamping of the next day. All the Royal *Bazars*, that are neither so long nor so broad, commonly cross this first, some on this, others on the other side of the king's Quarter; and all these *Bazars* are discern'd by very high Canes like great peaches, which are fixt in the ground from three hundred to three hundred paces or there about, with red Standards, and Cows-tailes of the great *Tibet* fastned on the top of these Canes like Perriwigs.

The

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The same Marshal designs, next, the place of the *Omrabs*, so as they may alwayes keep the same order, and be ever as near as may be the king's quarter; some on the right, others on the left hand, some on this side of him, others beyond him; so that none of them may change the place that hath been once appointed for him, or that himself hath desired in the beginning of the Voyage,

The quarters of the *Omrabs* and *Rajas*, as to their particular order and disposition, are to be imagined in a manner like that of the King: For commonly they have two *Peichekanes* with a Square of *Kanates*, which incloseth their principal Tent and those of their Women; and round about these are put up the Tents of their Officers and Cavaliers, with a peculiar *Bazar*, which is a street of small Tents for the lower sort of people that follows the Army, and furnisheth the Camp with Forrage, Grains, Rice, Butter, and the other things that are most necessary, where-  
by

the Paradise of Indogan. 29

by they are so accommodated, that they need not alwayes go to the royal *Bazars*, where generally all things are to be found as in the Capital City. Each *Bazar* is marked at the two ends by two Canes planted in the ground, which are as tall as those of the Royal *Bazars*, that so at a good distance the particular Standards fastned to them may be discover'd, and the several quarters distinguish'd from one another.

The Great *Omrabs* and *Rajas* affect to have their Tents very high. But they must beware, least they be too high, because it may happen, that the King, passing by, might perceive it, and command them to be thrown down; of which we have seen an example in this last march. Neither must they be altogether red from without, since those of the King alone are to be so. Lastly, out of respect they must all look ~~as~~ towards the *Am-kas* or the Quarter of the King.

The



30      § Voyage to Kachemire,

The residue of the space between the Kings Quarter, and those of the *Omrabs* and the *Bazars*, is taken up by the Tents of the *Manfeb-dars* or little *Omrabs*, and of that infinit number of great and small Merchants that follow the Army; of all those that belong to the Law; and lastly, of all such as serve both the Artilleries: Which maketh indeed a prodigious number of Tents, and requirerh a very great extent of ground. Yet is it not all true what is said of either of them. And I believe, that when the whole Army is in a fair and even Campagne, where it may encamp with ease, and that, following the ordinary plot, it comes at length to be lodged, as near as may be, in a round (as we have often seen it does upon this road) the compass of it will not be above two Leagues, or two Leagues and an half, and with all this there will yet be left here and there several void places. But then the great Artillery, which raketh up a great tract of ground, doth very

very often a day or two before.

Nor is all true, what is said of the strange confusion, which commonly strikes an astonishment into all new commers. For a little acquaintance with the method of the Army, and some heeding of the order observed in the Camp, will soon enable one to avoid all embarasment, and to go to and fro about his business, and to find his quarter again, forasmuch as every one regulateth himself by the King's Quarter, and the particular Tents and Standards of the *Omrahs*, that may be seen afar off, and by the Standards and Perriwigs of the Royal *Bazars*, which may also be seen at a great distance.

Yet for all these marks it will sometimes fall out, that one shall be extreemly perplexed, and even in the day time, but especially in the morning, when a world of people do arrive, and every one of those is busie and seeks to lodge himself: And that not only, because there is often raised so great a dust, that the King's Quarter,

ter, the Standards of the *Bazars* and the *Omrahs* (which might serve for guides) cannot be discover'd: But because a man finds himself between Tents that are putting up, and between cords, which the lesser *Omrahs*, that have no *Peiche-kane*, and the *Mansheb-dars* stretch out to mark their lodgings, and to hinder, that no way may be made nigh them, or that no unknown person may come to lodge near their Tents, where often they have their Women: If in this case you mean to get by on one side, you will find the wayes obstructed by those stretched-out cords, which a troop of mean Serving-men, standing there with big cudgels, will not suffer to be lower'd, to suffer the Baggage to pass: If you will turn back, you'll find the waies shut since you passed. And here it is, where you must cry out, storm, intreat, make as if you would strike, and yet well beware of doing so, leaving the men, as well as you can, to quarrel against one another, and afterwards to accord them for fear of some

the Paradise of Indostan. 33

some mischief; and in short, to put your self into all imaginable postures to get away thence, and to make your Camels pass: But the great trouble is, when a man is obliged to go in an evening to a place somewhat remote, because that those offensive smoaks of the fire of green Wood, of Cow-shares, of Camel-dung, which the common people then make in their kitchins, do raise a mist (especially when there is no wind) so thick, that you can see nothing at all. I have been three or four times surprized with it, so as not to know what to do. Well might I ask the way; I knew not whither I went, and I did nothing but turn. Once, among other times, I was constrained to stay till this mist passed, and the Moon risen. And another time I was forced to get to the *Aguacy-die*, to lye down at the foot thereof, and there to pass all the night as well as I could, having my Servant and Horse by me. This *Aguacy-die* is like a tall Mast, but very slender, which can be taken down in



three pieces, and 'tis planted toward the King's Quarter, near that Tent which is called *Nagar-kane*. In the evening is drawn up to the top of it a Lanthorn with a light burning in it all night long; which is very commodious, as being seen a great way off; and thither it is that people gone astray do retire, from thence to get again to the *Bazars*, and to ask the way, or there to pass the rest of the night; for no body hinders one from doing so, and a man may be there in safety from Robbers. It is called *Agnacy-die*, as if you should say, *light of Heaven*, in regard that from a far off it appears like a Star.

d. 21 For the prevention of Robberies, each *Durrah* causeth a guard to be kept all the night long, in his particular Camp, of such men that perpetually go the round, and cry *Kaber-dar*, have a care. Besides, there are round about the Army set guards, at five hundred common paces from one another, that keep a fire, and cry also, *Kaber-dar*. And over and above all these,

the Paradise of Indostan. 35

these, the *Catual*, who is, as 'twere, the great Prevost, sends out troupes of guards every way, that pass through all the *Bazars*, crying out and trumpetting all night long. Yet for all this, some robberies there are now and then committed; and 'tis necessary alwayes to be upon ones guard, to go to sleep by times, that so you may be awake the rest of the night, and not to trust your servants too much to keep guard for you.

But let us now see, how many different wayes the Great Mogol is carried in the field.

Ordinarily he causeth himself to be carried on mens shoulders, in a kind of Sedan or Litter, upon which is a *Tatt-raven*, that is a Field throne; on which he is seated: And this is like a magnificent Tabernacle with pillars, painted and gilded, which may be shut with glass, when 'tis ill weather; the four branches of the Litter are cover'd with Scarlet or purpled Gold, with great Gold and

### 36 A Ulopaga to Kachemire

Silk-fringes; and at each branch there are there are two robust and well-cloathed Porters, that change by turns with as many more that follow.

Sometimes also he goeth on Horse-back, especially when 'tis a fair day for hunting. At other times he rideth on an Elephant, in a *Mik-dember*, or *Hauze*; and this is the most splendid appearance: For, the Elephant is decked with a very rich and very magnificent Harnafs; the *Mik-dember*, being a little square House or Turret of Wood, is alwaies painted and gilded; and the *Hauze*, which is an Oval seat, having a Canopy with Pillars over it, is so likewise.

In these different Marches he is alwaies accompanied with a great number of *Durahs* and *Rajas* following him close and thick on horse-back without any great order: And all those that are in the Army are obliged to be at the *Amkas* at break of day,  
 150: b unless he do exempt them from it,  
 upon

upon the account either of their peculiar Office, or their great Age. This march is very inconvenient to them, especially on hunting dayes; for they must endure the Sun and Dust as the simple Souldiers, and that sometimes until three of the clock in the afternoon; whereas, when they do not attend the King, they go at ease in their *Palekys*, close cover'd, if they please, free from the Sun and Dust, sleeping in them couched all along as in a bed, and so coming in good time to their Tent, which expects them with a ready dinner, their kitchin being gone the night before, after supper. About the *Omrabs*, and amongst them, there is alwaies a good number of Horse-men well mounted, call'd *Gourze-berdars*, because they carry a kind of Silver-Mace of Armes. There are also many of them about the right and left wings, that precede the person of the King, together with store of Foot-men.. These *Gourze-berdars* are Choice-men, of a good meen and a fair stature, appointed to



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carry orders, and having all of them great sticks in their hands, whereby they put people aside at a good distance, and hinder that no body march before the King to incommode him.

After the *Rajas* marcheth a train mixed of a great number of Timbals and Trumpets. I have already said in another place, that this train consists of nothing but of figures of Silver representing strange Animals, Hands, Scales, Fishes, and other mysterious things, that are carried at the end of great Silver-sticks.

At last a great troupe of *Mansebdars*, or little *Omrahs*, well mounted, and furnished with Swords, Arrows and Quivers, follow after all the former: And this Body is much more numerous than that of the *Omrahs*, because, besides that all those that are of the guard dare not fail to be at break of day, as the *Omrahs*, at the gate of the Kings Tent to accompany him, there are also many, that come

amongst

amongst them, to make their Court,  
and to become known there.

The Princesses, and the great Ladies of the *Seraglio* are also carried in sundry fashions: some are carried, like the King, on mens shoulders, in a *Tchandonle*, which is a kind of *Tach-ravan*, painted, gilded, and cover'd with great and costly Net-work of Silk of divers colours, enriched with Embroidery, Fringe, and thick pendant tufts. Others are carried in a very handsome *Paleky* closed, that are likewise painted and gilded, and cover'd with that rich filken net-work. Some are carried in large Litters by two strong Camels, or by two small Elephants, instead of Mules: And in this manner I have sometimes seen carried *Ranchewara-Begum*; when I also observed, that in the fore-part of her Litter, being open, there was a little She-slave, that with a Peacocks-tail kept off from her the Flies and Dust. Lastly, others are carried upon Elephants richly harnessed, and cover'd with embroider'd deckings,

40 **A Voyage to Kachemire**

deckings, and great Silver-bells; where these Ladies sit, raised, as 'twere, into the middle region of the Air, four and four in *Mik-dembers* latticed, which alwaies are cover'd with silken Net-work, and are no less splendid and stately than the *Tchandelies* and *Taff-ravans*.

I cannot forbear relating here, that in this Voyage I took a particular pleasure in beholding and considering this pompous march of the *Seraglio*. And certainly nothing more stately can be imagined, than to see *Rauchemara-Begum* march first, mounted upon a lusty-Elephant of *Pegu* in a *Mik-dember*, all shining of Gold and Azur, attended by five or six other Elephants with their *Mik-dembers*, almost as splendid as hers, filled with the principal She-Officers of her House; some of the most considerable Eunuchs, richly adorned, and advantageously mounted, riding on her side, each with a Cane in his hand; a Troup of *Tartarian* and *Kachemiri*-Maids of Honour about her, odly and

the Paradise of Indostan. 41

and fantastically dressed, and riding on very pretty Hackney-horses; and lastly, many other Eunuchs on Horse-back accompanied with store of Pages and Lackeys, with great sticks in their hands, to make way a far off. After this *Rauchanara Begum*, I saw pass one of the principal Ladies of the Court, mounted and attended in proportion: And after this, a third in the same fashion; and then another, and so on to fifteen or sixteen, all (more or less) bravely mounted and accompanied according to their quality, pay, and office. Indeed this long file of Elephants to the number of fifty, or sixty, or more, thus gravely marching with paces, as 'twere, counted, and withal this gallant train and equipage, does represent something that is Great and Royal; and if I had not beheld this Pomp with a kind of philosophical indifference, I know not, whether I should not have suffered my self to be carried away to those extravagant sentiments of most of the *Indian Poets*, who



who will have it, that all these Elephants carry as many hidden Goddeses. 'Tis true, one can hardly see them, and they are almost inaccessible by men; it would be a great misfortune to any poor Cavalier whosoever, to be found in the Field too near them in the march; all those Eunuchs, and all the crew of Servants are to the highest degree insolent, and desire nothing more than such a pretext and occasion to fall upon a man and give him some Bastinadoes. I remember, I was once thus unfortunately surprized, and certainly I had been very ill used, as well as many other Cavaliers, if at length I had not resolved to make my way out by my sword, rather than suffer my self to be thus maimed as they began to order the matter; and if by good luck I had not been provided with a good Horse, that carried me vigorously out of the press, when I put him on thorow a torrent of people, that was to be repassed. And it is grown in a manner a common

Proverb

Proverb of these Armies, That, above all, one must beware of three things: First, Not to let one self to be engaged amongst the troupes of the chosen led Horle, they never failing to strike: Secondly, not to come into the places of Hunting: Thirdly, not to approach too near the Women of the Seraglio. Yet notwithstanding by what I hear, it is much less dangerous here than in *Persia*; for there 'tis death to be found in the field in sight of the Eunuchs that attend them, though you were half a league distant from them. It is required, that as many men as there are in the Villages and Burroughs, where they pass, do all abandon them, and retire a far off.

As to the Hunting of the King, I knew not first how to imagine what is commonly said, which is, that the Great *Mogol* goes to hunt with an hundred thousand men: But now I see, it may very well be said, that he goes to hunt with above two hundred thousand; nor is it a thing hard

to

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to comprehend. In the neighboring places to *Agra* and *Dehli*, along the river *Gemna* as far as to the mountains, and even on both sides of the high way to *Labor*, there is abundance of untilled Lands, some of Cops-wood, and some of Grass above a mans height: In all these places there are great numbers of Guards, unceasingly roving up and down, and hindering all other people from hunting, except Partridges, Quails and Hares, which the Indians know to take with nets: So that every where in those places there is very great store of all kind of Game. This being so, the hunting guards, when they know that the King is in the field, and near their quarters, give notice, to the Great Hunting-master, of the quality of the Game, and of the place where most of it is; then the Guards do line all the avenues of that quarter, and that sometimes for above four or five Leagues of ground, that so the *whole Army* may pass by, either this or that way, and the King being

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being in his march may at the same time enter into it with as many *Omrah's*, Hunters and other persons as he shall please, and there hunt at his ease, now in one manner and then in another, according to the difference of the Game. And now behold first, how he hunteth the *Gazelles* or wild Fawns with tamed *Leopards*. c: 42

I think, I have elsewhere told you; that in the *Indies* there is store of *Gazelles*, that are in a manner shaped as our *Hinds* or *Fawns*; that these *Gazelles* commonly go in several troupes, and that every troupe, which never consists of above five or six, is alwaies follow'd by one only male, discernable by the colour. One of such troupes being discover'd, they endeavour to make the *Leopard* see them, who is held chain'd upon a little chariot. This crafty animal doth not presently and directly run after them, but goes winding and turning, stopping and hiding himself, so to approach them with more advantage, and to surprize them: And as he is capable to make  
five



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five or six leaps with an almost incredible swiftness, when he finds he is within reach, he lanceth himself upon them, worrieth them, and gluts himself with their blood, heart and liver. If he faileth (which often happens) he stands still, and it would be in vain for him to attempt to take them by running after them, because they run much faster, and hold out longer than he. Then the Master comes gently about him, flattering him, and throwing him some pieces  
14 of flesh, and thus amusing him, puts something over his eyes to cover them, and so chains him, and puts him upon the charriot again. One of these Leopards gave us once in our march this divertisement, which frightened store of people. A troop of Gazelles appeared in the midst of the Army, as they will do every day; it chanced that they passed close to two Leopards that were carried, as they use to be, upon their little charriot. One of them not blinded, made such an effort that he burst his chain, and

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and darted himself after them, but without catching any of them: Yet the Gazelles, not knowing which way to escape, being pursued, cried after, and hunted on every side, there was one of them that was forced to repass again near the Leopard, who, notwithstanding the Camels and Horses, that pestered all the way, and contrary to what is commonly said of this Beast, that it never returns to its prey when it hath once failed of it, flew upon it and caught it.

The hunting of the Nilgau or gray Oxen, which I said were a kind of Elcks, hath no great matter in it. They are inclosed in great Nets, that are by little and little drawn closer together, and when they are reduced to a small compass of enclosure, the King, the Omrahs, and the Hunters do enter, and kill them at pleasure with Arrows, Half-pikes, Sables or Muskquets; and sometimes in so great numbers, that the King sends quarters of them for presents to all the Omrahs.

The

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The Game of the Granes hath some-  
thing of divertisement. 'Tis a pleasure  
to see them defend themselves in the  
Air against the Birds of prey; they  
sometimes kill some of them; but at  
length, not being nimble in turning,  
many strong Birds master them.

Of all the Games that of the Lion  
is the most Royal, because there is  
none but the King and the Princes  
that can exercise it (unless it be by a  
very particular leave;) but it is also  
the most dangerous. The manner of  
it is this. When the King is in the  
field, and the Hunting-guards have  
discover'd the place of the Lions re-  
tirement, they rye fast an Ass there-  
about, which the Lion soon comes to  
devour, and without caring to look  
out for other prey, as Oxen, Cows,  
Mutton or Shepherds, he goes to  
seek for drink, and returns to his or-  
dinary lodging place, where he lyes  
down and sleeps until next morning,  
when he finds another Ass in the self  
same place, which the Hunters have  
fastned there as the day before; and  
when

**the Paradise of Indostan. 49**

when they have thus baited and amused him several dayes in the same place, and now know that the King is nigh, they at length tye fast another Als, but whom they have made to swallow a quantity of *Opium*, to the end that his flesh may the better lull a sleep the Lion, and then all the Country-men of the circumjacent Villages spread large and strong nets, made for that purpose, which they also by degrees reduce to a small compass, as is practised in the hunting of the *Nil-gaux*. All things thus prepar'd, the King mounted on an Elephant trap'd with iron, being attended by the great Hunting-master, some *Omrabs* riding also on Elephants, by abundance of *Gourac-berdars* on Horseback, and by a numerous Hunting-guard on foot, arm'd with Half-pikes, approacheth to the Nets from without, and with a great Musquet shoots at the Lion; who when he finds himself wounded, comes directly to the Elephant, as his custom is; but he meets with those

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big Nets stopping him, and the King shoots so often at him, that at last he kills him. Yet in this last hunting there was a Lion that leapt over these Nets, fell upon an Horseman whose Horse he kill'd, and then ran away: But the Hunters met with him, and inclosed him again in the Net, which caused a great disturbance to the Army; we were three or four dayes paddling in small torrents running down the mountains, betwixt under-wood and such long gras as that Camels hardly can be seen therein; and happy were these that had some provision of victuals; for all was in disorder: The *Bazars* could not range themselves, and the Villages were remote. The reason why we were to stop there so long, was, that as it is a good *omen* with the Indians when the King kills a Lion, so it is a very ill one, when he faileth, and they think that the State would run great hazard if they should not master him. Hence 'tis also that they make many Cerimonies upon the

the account of this Hunting; for they bring the dead Lion before the King in the general Assembly of the *Omrah*s, and after he hath been well viewed & exactly measur'd, 'tis recorded in the Archives, that such a King, at such a time, slew a Lion of such a bigness, of such hair, of so long and large teeth and claws, not omitting the least circumstances.

I shall here only add a word in reference to what is commonly said of the *Opium*, that the Ass is made to swallow; viz. That one of the chief Hunters assur'd me, that it was but a tale of the vulgar, and that the Lion slept sufficiently without it, when he had his belly full.

Now to return to our march; when the great Rivers, which in these quarters commonly have no Bridges, are to be pass'd, there are made two Boat-bridges, about two or three hundred paces distant from one another; which they know well enough how to chain and fasten together. Upon them they cast earth and straw

mingl'd together, which preventeth the sliding of the animals. The first passing upon, and the coming from it are only dangerous, because, that besides the great crowd, which then commonly throngeth, and the great confusion and embarrasment, it often happens that pits or holes are made when 'tis moving earth; and then you shall have Horses and burthen'd Oxen tumble upon one another, over whom people do pass with an incredible disorder; which would be yet greater, if all were to pass in *one* day: But ordinarily the King encampeth but half a League from the Bridge, where he stays a day or two, and he never almost encampeth farther than half a League from the River on the other side of the Bridge, that so the Army may have at least three dayes and three nights to pass more conveniently.

Lastly, as to the number of people that is found in the Army, it is not so easie a thing to determine it. It is so differently spoken of, that one knows

knows not what to judge of it. What I can tell you of it in the general, that is most probable, is this: That in this march there were at least, as to Souldiers and others, an hundred thousand Horsemen, and above an hundred and fifty thousand Animals, as Horses, Mules or Elephants; that there were near fifty thousand Camels, and almost as many Oxen or Asses, that serve to carry the grain, and other provisions of these poor people of the *Bazars*, their wives and children: For they lugg all with them, as our *Bohemians* do. Upon this measure you may reckon pretty near the number of the serving people, supposing that nothing is there done but by the force of servants, and that I, who am but in the rank of a Cavalier of two Horses, can hardly do my business with less than three men: Some say, that in the whole Army, there is scarce less than between three or four hundred thousand persons. Others reckon more; others less. No body ever told them



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to determine the precise number. I can say nothing of certainty, but only that 'tis a prodigious and almost incredible number; but then you are to imagine, that 'tis all Dehli, the Capital City, that marcheth, because that all the Inhabitants of that Town, living upon the Court and the Army, are obliged to follow them, especially when the voyage is to be long, as this; or else they must starve.

The difficulty is to know, whence and how so great an Army can subsist in the Field, so vast a number of people and beasts. For that, we must only suppose (which is very true) that the Indians live very soberly, and observe a very simple diet, and that of all this great number of Cavaliers there is not the tenth, no not the twentieth man, that in his march eats flesh: provided they have their Kichery, that is, their mixture of Rice and of other legums, upon which they powr butter when they are boiled, they are content. We are also to know, that Camels endure labour,

the Paradise of Indostan. 55

labour, hunger and thirst extremely well, live upon little, and eat almost any thing: and that as soon as the Army encampeth any where, the Camel-drivers let them go into the field to browse, where they eat whatever they light upon. Besides, that the Merchants that entertain Bazars in Debli, are obliged to entertain them in the field; and that all the small Merchants, that keep shop in the Bazars of Debli, keep them also in the Army, either by force, or out of necessity; and lastly, that as to Forrage, all these poor people goe roving up and down every where in the Village, to buy what they can get, and to gain something by it; and their great and common refuge is, with a kind of Trowel to raspe or knock down whole fields, to beat and wash what they have there gotten, and so to cary it to sell to the Army, which they do sometimes very dear, and sometimes very Cheap, I forgot to mention one thing that's remarkable; viz. that the King enters into the Camp. now on one side,

side, than on another; and that to day he passeth near the Tents of certain *Omrabs*, and to morrow near those of others. Which he doth not without design; for the *Omrabs*, which he passeth by so near, are obliged to meet him, and to make him some small present or other; so that some will present him with twenty Roupies of Gold, which maketh thirty Pistols; others with fifty, and so others in proportion, according to their generosity, and the greatness of their pay.

For the rest, you will excuse me, that I do not observe to you the Towns and Burroughs that are between *Dehli* and *Lahor*. I have seen in a manner none of them, for I went almost alwaies cross the fields, and in the night, because my *Agah* was not placed in the middle of the Army, where often is the high way, but very forward in the right Wing. We went as well as we could by Star light cross the fields to gain the right wing of the Camp, without seeking for the high

high way; though sometimes we found our selves much perplexed, and in lieu of three or four Leagues, which is the ordinary distance of one encampment from another, we sometimes made five or six; but when the day comes on, we soon found our selves where we should be.

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### The third Letter,

*A Description of Lahor, the Capital of Penjeab, or, The Kingdom of the Five Waters.*

SIR,

IT is not without reason, that this Kingdom, of which *Lahor* is the Capital City, is called Penje-ab, or the Country of the Five Waters, because there are actually Five considerable Rivers coming down from those Mountains, within which the Kingdom



Kingdom of *Kachemire* is lock'd up, and that run croſs this tract of Land to fall into the River *Indus*, diſcharging themſelves together into the Ocean at *Scymdr*, towards the entry of the Perſian Gulph. Whether *Labor* be that ancient *Bucephalos*, I decide not. Mean time, *Alexander* is ſufficiently known here under the name of *Sekander Filifous*, that is, *Alexander* Son of *Philip*; but as to his Horſe, they know it not. The City of *Labor* is built upon one of theſe Five Rivers, which is not leſs than our *River Loire*, and for which there is great need of a like bank, becauſe it maketh great devaſtation, and often changeth its bed, and hath but lately retired it ſelf from *Labor* for a quarter of a League; which very much incommodeth the Inhabitants. The Houſes of *Labor* have this peculiar above thoſe of *Dehli* and *Agra*, that they are very high, but moſt of them are ruinous, becauſe tis now more than twenty years that the Court is alwayes at *Dehli* or at *Agra*. and that  
in

in these later years the rains have been so excessive, that they have overthrown many of them, whereby also much people hath been killed. 'Tis true, there remain still five or six considerable Streets, of which there are two or three that are above a League long; but in them also are many buildings found that fall down, The Kings Pallace is no longer upon the River side, as it was formerly, because that the River hath left it. It is very high, and magnificent; yet those of *Agra* and *Dehli* do much surpass it. It is now above two months that we are here, expecting the melting of the snow of the mountains of *Kachemire*, for a more convenient passage into that Kingdom. But at length we are to depart to morrow. The King hath been gone these two days. I have got a little *Kachemirian* Tent, which I bought yesterday. I was advised to do like others, and to leave here my ordinary tent, which is big and heavy enough, because, they say, that between the mountains

So **I** Voyage to Kachemire;  
mountains of *Kachemire*, whither we  
are now marching, it will be diffi-  
cult to find room enough, and that  
the Camels not having place enough  
to pass, we shall be obliged to get  
our Baggage carried by Porters, and  
that so my large Tent would cost me  
much to carry. *Adieu.*

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### *The fourth Letter.*

SIR,  
**I** Beleived, that after we had over-  
come the heats of *Moka*, near *Ba-  
bel-mandel*, I could defie those of the  
rest of the Earth, but since these  
four dayes that the Army left *Lahor*,  
I find I come very short of my reckon-  
ing, and I have experimented to the  
hazard of my life, that it is not with-  
out reason, that the Indians them-  
selves did apprehend the eleven or  
twelve dayes march of the Army,  
from *Lahor* to *Bamber*, the entry of the  
mountains of *Kachemire*. I protest  
unto you, without any exaggeration,  
that

## the Paradise of Indostan. 61

that the heats have been so excessive, that sometimes they have reduced me to extremity, insomuch that I knew not in the morning whether I should live till night. The cause of this extraordinary heat is, that the high mountains of *Kachemire* being on the North of our road, keep from us all the cool wind that might come and refresh us from that quarter, and do reflect the sun-beams upon us, and leave the field burnt up and choaking. But to what purpose, to play the Philosopher, and to seek reasons for that, which perhaps will kill me to morrow.

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## *The Fifth Letter,*

Sir,

I Passed yesterday one of the greatest Rivers of the *Indies*, called the *Tebenau*. The excellency of its water, of which the great *Omrahs* make provision



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provision in lieu of that of *Ganges* (whereof they have drunk hitherto) keeps me from believing this to be some River to pass to Hell, rather than to *Kachemire*, where they would make us believe we shall find Snow and Ice: For I find it grow worse and worse every day, and that the more we advance, the more heat we feel. 'Tis true that I pass'd the Bridge at Noon-day; but I almost knew not, which was best, to march in the field, or to keep ones self stuff'd up under a Tent: At least, I have succeeded in my design, which was, to pass the Bridge with ease, whilst all men did repose themselves. expecting to leave the Camp towards evening when the Heat is not so violent; whereas if I had staid as the rest did, some mischief perhaps might have befallen me. For it hath been, I hear, the most terrible confusion, and the greatest disorder that ever was in any the like former passage from *Dehli*; the entring upon the first Boat, and the going off from the last,

## **The Paradise of Indostan. 69**

last, having been made very difficult, because it was meer moving sand, which as people marched upon it, and stirr'd it, did slide away into the water, and left a pit; insomuch that a great number of Camels, Oxen and Horses were in the crowd overthrown and trampled under foot, and store of blows distributed besides: There are ordinarily, upon such occasions, some Officers and Cavaliers of the *Omrahs*, who to make way for their Masters and their Baggage, are not sparing of them. My *Navab* hath lost one of his Camels with the Iron Oven it carried, which maketh me apprehend, I shall be reduced to the bread of *Bazar*. Farewel.

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## **The sixth Letter:**

SIR,

**I**T is too much curiosity, 'tis folly,  
Or at least temerity in an Euro-  
pian

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pian to expose himself to such heats and dangerous marches. It is putting ones self into manifest peril of life. Yet notwithstanding, misfortune is good for something. Whilst we stayed at *Leher*, I was seized on by a Flux, and by gripings, which did very much incommode me; caused by my constant lying upon a *Terrasse*, and taking the cool of the night, as we use to do at *Deble* without danger. But since we have been marching these eight or nine dayes, the sweat hath dissipated all those humors. My body is become a right Sive, very dry, and I have no sooner taken into my stomach a pint of water (for less will not serve our turn) but I see it at the same time issue out of my limbs like a dew to the very ends of my fingers. I believe I have this day drunk above ten pintes. And this is some comfort, that one may drink of it as much as one lists without danger, provided it be good water.

## The Seventh LETTER,

To the same..

*Written from the Camp of the Army,  
marching from Lahor to Kachemire,  
the tenth of March in the morning.*

SIR,

**T**he Sun is but just now rising, yet  
he is intolerable; there is not a  
Cloud in the Sky, not a breath of  
Wind; my horses are spent, they  
have not seen a green Herb since we  
came out of Lahor; my Indians for all  
their black, dry and hard Skin, sink  
under it. My face, hands and feet  
are peeled off, and my body is cover-  
ed all over with pimples, that prick  
me as so many needles. Yesterday one  
of our poor Cavaliers, that had no  
Tent, was found dead at the foot of a  
small Tree, he had seized on. I doubt,  
whether I shall outlive this days jour-  
ney; all my hope is in a little dry  
curdled Milk, which I am going to

E

dilute



dilute with Water and Sugar, and some Limons, I have left, to make Limonade, Farewel; the Ink dryeth at the end of my Pen, and the Pen falls out of my hand. Farewell.

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## The Eighth LETTER.

To the same.

*Written from Bember, the Entry of the Mountains of Kachemire, after having two days encamped there. What Bember is; the change of carriages for the Mountains; the incredible number of Porters, and the order observed in the Army.*

SIR,

**W**E are at length arriv'd at Bember, the foot of a steep, black and burn'd Mountain, and we are encamped in the channel of a large Torrent dried up, full of sand and stones burning hot. It is like an hot Oven: And if it were not for the shower of Rain, we had this morning, and

and for the curdled Milk, the Limons, and the Fowl brought to us from the mountains, I know not what would have become of me, and you would perhaps never have seen this Letter. But, God be thanked, I feel the Air a little cooler; my Stomach, Strength and Tongue are returned. So then take this account of our new kind of march and trouble.

Yesterday the King first of all, together with *Rauchanara-Begum*, and the other Women of the *Seraglio*, the *Raja Ragmat* that performs the Office of the Vizir, and *Fasch-kan* the High Steward, went away from this burning place, and last night the great Hunting-master departed with some of the greatest and most necessary Officers of the Royal Family, and many considerable Women. This night 'tis our turn; my *Navab Danesh-mend-kan* will go away, and *Mahmet-Emir-kan*, the Son of that famous *Emir-jamla*, of whom I have spoken so much in another place, will be of our Company; and so will *Dianet-kan*, our good friend, with his two Sons,

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and many other *Omrabs*, *Rajahs* and *Manjeb-dars*: And after us, all the other Lords, that are bound for *Kachemire*, will be gone all in their turns, to avoid in these difficult and narrow ways of the mountains, the trouble and confusion, during these five days of marching between this place and *Kachemire*.

All the rest of the Court, as *Fedaykan*, the great Master of the Artillery, three or four great *Rajas*, and many *Omrabs*, are to stay here about, for a guard, during three or four months, until the King do return after the great heats are over. Some shall go to dress their Tents on the one side of the River *Tchenay*, others in the neighbouring Towns and Burroughs, and others will be obliged to camp here in this Fire of *Bember*.

The King for fear of starving this small Kingdom of *Kachemire*, first carries with him the least number of Women he can, the greatest Ladies, the best friends of *Ranchenara-Begum*, and those that are most necessary for service. Nor doth he carry more of the *Omrabs* and

*Militia*

*Militia* than needs he must : And the *Omrabs* that have leave to come with him, cannot take with them all the Cavaliers, but only 25 of 100, yet without comprehending therein the particular Officers of their Family. And that is to be religiously observ'd, because there is an *Omrab* upon the Guard at the entry of the Mountains, that reckons all that pass, one by one, and hinders the passing of that great number of *Mansebdars* and other Cavaliers, that would fain go and enjoy the cool Air of *Kaschemire* ; as also all those small Merchants and little people of *Bazar* that seek to gain a livelyhood. The King, for the carriage of necessaries and the Women of the *Seraglio*, taketh with him some of the strongest and best Elephants : These Beasts, though gross and unwieldy, are very sure-footed, and in ill way they march very warily, assuring themselves first of one foot before they remove the other. He taketh also some Mules with him ; but Camels, the most necessary, he cannot make use of in this passage ; these Mountains being



ing too steep and craggy for their long-thanked and stiff leggs: Porters must supply their places; and what number, you think must there be, if the King alone, as they say, hath above six thousand for his occasions, and I, a private man, though I have left at Labor my ordinary Tent and much of my baggage, as every one hath done, even the King himself and the *Qmrabs*, find my self obliged to have three of them? 'Tis believed, there are already no less here than fifteen thousand, partly of those which the Governour of Kachemire and the *Rajas* here about have compelled to be here, partly of those that come thither of their own accord out of the neighbouring Villages to earn something: for a man is obliged, following the Kings order, to give them ten Crowns for an hundred pound weight. 'Tis said, that, in all, there are above thirty thousand of them, without reckoning that a month ago the King and the *Qmrabs* sent away some baggage before, and the Merchants, all sorts of Commodities;

## The Ninth LETTER.

*An exact Description of the Kingdom of Kachemire, and the present State of the Neighbouring Mountains; together with an Answer to Five considerable Questions of a Friend.*

SIR,



HE Histories of the Ancient Kings of Cachemire tell us, that all that Countrey was formerly nothing but a great Lake, and that there was an old Holy man, called Kacheb, that gave an outlet to the Waters by a Miraculous Cut he made in the Mountain of Baramoule. This may be seen in the Abridgment of these Histories, which Jehan-Guire caused to be made, and which I am translating out of the Persian Tongue. For my part, I would not  
F deny,

82 The Storage of *Kachemire*,

deny, all this Land to have once been cover'd with Water; the like is affirm'd of *Thessaly*, and some other Countries; but 'tis hard to believe, that this opening is the work of one man, because the Mountain is very big and very high. I should rather think, that some great Earthquake (those parts being subject enough to them) had open'd some Cavern under ground, which the Mountain did sink into, after the same manner as the opening of *Babel-Mandel* is made (if it be true what the *Arabians* of that Countrey say of it) and as whole Towns and Mountains have been seen to be swallow'd up in great Lakes.

However it be, *Kachemire* is no Lake now, but a very fair Campagne, diversified by many little Hillocks, about 30 Leagues long, and 10, or 12 Leagues broad; situated in the extrem of *Assistan*, North of *Labor*, lock'd up within the Mountains of *Caucasus*, between those of the Kings of the great *Tibet*, the little *Tibet*, and the *Raja Gamon*, its next Neighbours.

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the Paradise of *INDOSTAN*. 83

The first Mountains surrounding it, I mean those that are next to the Plain, are of a middle height, all green with Trees or Pasture, full of all sorts of Cattel, as Cows, Sheep, Goats, Horses, and of Game of divers kinds, as Partridges, Hares, Gazelles, and of some Animals yielding Musk. There are also abundance of Bees; and (which is rare in the *Indies*) there are found no Serpents, Tigers, Bears, Lions, but very seldom. So that it may be said, that these are not only very innocent Mountains, but flowing with Milk and Honey, as were those of the Land of Promise.

Beyond those middle siz'd Mountains, there rise others, very high ones, the top of which are alwaies cover'd with Snow, and appear above the ordinary Clouds and Mists, alwaies calm and clear as well as Mount *Olympus*.

Out of all these Mountains do issue innumerable Sources and Rivulets on all sides, which the Inhabitants know how to convey to their Rice-fields, and even through raised Ground unto



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their little Hillocks; and which, after they have made a thousand other little Rivulets, and a thousand *Cascata's* every where, come at last to meet, and to make a very fair River, that carrieth Boats as big as our River of *Seine*, and after it hath gently turn'd about the Kingdom, and passed through the midst of the Capital City, finds its out-let at *Baramoule* between two steep Rocks, and having afterwards taken in many small Rivers that come down from the Mountains, falls about *Alex* into the River *Indus*.

All these Rivulets descending from the Mountains make the Plain and all those Hillocks so fair and fruitful, that one would take this whole Kingdom for some great *Ever-green Garden*, intermixed with Villages and Burroughs, discovering themselves between Trees, and diversified by Meadows, Fields of Rice, Corn, and divers other Legumes, of Hemp, and Saffron; all interlaced with Ditches full of Water, with Channels, with small Lakes and Rivulets here and there. Up and down every

the Paradise of *INDOSTAN*. 85

every where are also seen some of our *European* Plants, Flowers, and all sorts of our Trees, as Apples, Pears, Prunes, Apricots, Nuts, Vines. The particular Gardens are full of Melons, Water-Melons, Skirrets, Beets, Radishes, all sorts of *our* Pot-herbs, and of some we have not.

'Tis true, there are not so many sorts of Fruit as with us, nor are they so excellent as ours ; but I believe that that is not the fault of the Soil, but that, if they had as good Gardeners as we, knowing to cultivate and graft Trees, to chuse proper places and proper Stocks, and to send for Grafts from Forreign Countries, they would have as many and as good as we ; because among that number of divers sorts, which I often caused to be brought to me, I have frequently met with very excellent ones.

The Capital City, which is of the same name with that of the Kingdom, is without walls ; 'tis three quarters of a League long, and half a League broad ; scituate in a Plain, about

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two Leagues distant from Mountains, which seem to make as 'twere a Semi-Circle; and standing upon a Lake of sweet Water of four or five miles in compass, which is made up of Live-Springs, and of Rivulets running down the Mountains, and disgorgeth it self by a Navigable Channel into the River which passeth through the midst of the Town. This River hath in the Town two wooden Bridges over it for communication. Most Houses are of Wood, but well built, and of two or three Stories high; not as if they had not very good Free Stone there (many old Idol-Temples ruined, and other Buildings made of it, being yet to be seen;) but the abundance of Wood, easily descending from the mountains by little Rivers, which it is cast into, maketh people find that way of Building turn to better account. The Houses that stand upon the River have almost all of them their little Garden, lying upon the Water; which maketh a very pleasant Perspective, especially in the Spring and Summer, when

when men walk on the River-side. The other Houses that stand not upon the River, have also almost all of them some garden; and there are a good number of such, that have a Channel answering to the Lake, and a little Boat to go and divert themselves upon it.

In one end of the Town there appears an Hill, loose from all the rest, which maketh another very agreeable Perspective, because on its Declivity there stand very fine Houses with Gardens, and on the top a Mosquee and an Hermitage well built with a Garden, and store of fine green Trees: And 'tis upon the account of these Trees and Gardens, that in the Language of the Countrey 'tis called Haryperbet, as if you should say, the Mountain of Verdure.

Opposite to this Hill there is seen another, on which there is also a Mosquee, but a little one, together with a Garden, and a very ancient Building, which seems to have been a Temple of Idols, though they call it Tall Souliaman, that is, the Throne of



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*Solomon*, because that *Solomon*, as the *Mahumetans* say, caused it to be built when he came to *Kachemire*; but how they will prove, that *Solomon* made this Voyage, I know not.

The *Lake* hath this peculiar, that 'tis full of little *Isles*, which are as many *Gardens of pleasure*, that appear all green in the midst of the *Water*, by reason of those fruit-bearing *Trees*, and of the *Walks*, on both sides set with *Arbors*, and because they are surrounded with large-leaved *Aspen-trees*, standing at two foot distance from one another, the biggest whereof may be clasped about, but as tall as *Masts of great Ships*, having only a tuft of *Branches* at the top like *Palm-trees*.

Beyond the *Lake*, upon the side of the *Hills*, there is nothing but *Houses* and *Gardens of pleasure*, the place having been found wonderfully proper for it, as being in a very fine *Air*, in the view of the *Lake*, the *Isles*, and the *Town*, & full of *Springs* & *Rivulets*.

The most admirable of all these *Gardens* is that of the *King*, which is called

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called Chah-limar. From the Lake, one enters into it by a great Canal, border'd with great green Turfs. This Canal is above five hundred common paces long, and runs 'twixt two large Allees of Poplars: It leadeth to a great Cabinet in the midst of the Garden, where begins another Canal far more magnificent, which runs with a little rising unto the end of the Garden. This Canal is paved with large Free-Stone; its sloping side cover'd with the same; and in the midst of it, there is a long Row of Jets of Water, from 15 to 15 foot. There are also, from space to space, great Rounds of Water serving for Store-houses, whence many Jets of Water, variously figured, do spring up: And this Canal ends at another great Cabinet, which is almost like the first.

These Cabinets, which are in a manner made like Domes, scituate in the middle of the Canal, and encompassed with Water, and consequently between those two great Allees of Poplars, have a Gallery that reigneth round  
about,

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about, and four Gates opposite to one another; two of which do respect the Allees, with two Bridges to pass over, one on one side, and the other on the other; the other two look upon the opposite Canals. Each Cabinet consists of a great Chamber in the midst of four other lesser Chambers, which are in the four Corners: All is painted and gilded within, the great Chamber as well as the little ones, having Sentences with great Letters in the *Persian* Tongue written upon them. The four Gates are very rich; they are made of great Stones with two Columns, taken from those ancient Idol-Temples, ruin'd by *Chah-Jehan*. The price of these great Stones and Pillars is not well known, nor what kind of Stone they be; though it appears sufficiently, that 'tis a sort of precious Stone, finer than Marble or Porphyre.

From all that hath been said, one may easily conjecture, that I am somewhat charmed with *Kachemire*, and that I pretend, there is perhaps nothing

the Paradise of INDOSTAN. 91

thing in the world like it for so small a Kingdom. It deserves very well to reign over all those neighbouring Mountains as far as *Tartary*, and over all *Indostan* as far as *Ceylon*, as once it did: And 'tis not without some cause, that the *Mogols* call it the *Terrestrial Paradise* of the Indies; that *Eckbar* took so much pains to make himself Master of it; and that his Son *Jehan-Guire* became so amorous thereof, that he could not leave it; and often said, he would rather lose all his Empire, than *Kachemire*. And from the time that we arrived there, all the Poets, both *Kachemirians* and *Mogolians*, strove to make Poems to the praise of this little Kingdom, to present them to *Aureng-Zebe*, who gladly received and rewarded them. I remember, that among others, there was one, that exaggerating the extraordinary height of the Mountains encompassing it, and rendring it almost inaccessible any where, said, that the top of these Mountains was the cause, that the Heavens did retire into the Figure of a Vault,

as



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as we see it ; and that Kachemire being the Master-piece of Nature, and the King of the Kingdoms of the World, it was futable it should be hard of access, and so enjoy an undisturbed peace and tranquility, commanding all, and not being liable to be commanded by any. He added, that the reason why Nature had surrounded it with Mountains, of which some, namely the highest and most remote, were alwaies white and covered with Snow, the lowermost and the next to the Plain, all green and covered with Wood, was, because that the King of the Kingdoms of the World was to wear the most precious Crown, the top whereof was to be of Diamonds, and the bottom of Emeralds. If the Poet had added (said I to my *Navab Danech-mend-kan* ; who was willing to make me admire all those Poems ) that all those great Countries of Mountains that environ it, as the little *Tibet*, the State of the *Raja Gamon*, *Kachguer*, and *Serenagner*, are to be comprehended under the Kingdom of *Kachemire* ;  
since,

the Paradise of INDOSTAN. 93

since, according to the History of the Countrey, they once depended from it, and consequently that the River *Ganges* on the one side, that of *Indus* on the other, the *Chenau* on a third, and the *Gemma* on the fourth, do issue out of *Kachemire*; that these Rivers, with so many others that run thence, do countervail the *Gihon*, *Gen. 2. 11, 12*, the *Pison*, and the two others; and if at last he had concluded, that this was certainly the true Terrestrial Paradise, rather than that in *Armenia*, this would have much enbaunced the worth of all his Commendations.

The *Kachemirians* have the Reputation of being a very witty people, much more intelligent and dexterous than the *Indians*, and as fit for Poësie and Sciences as the *Persians*. Besides, they are very industrious and willing to take pains; they make *Palekys*, Trunks, Bed-steds, Standishes, Boxes, Spoons, and many other pieces, and all of good and very handsome Workmanship, sent over all the *Indies*. They know

know how to give it a good Vernish, and so dexterously to counterfeite the Veins of a certain Wood that hath very fine ones, by applying Gold-strings upon it, that there is nothing finer. But what is peculiar and considerable in them, and which draws the Trade and Silver into their Countrey, is that prodigious quantity of Stuffs call'd *Chales*, which they work there, and employ their little Children in. These *Chales* are certain kinds of Stuff an Ell and a half long, and about an Ell broad, which are embroydered at each end with a kind of Embroydery about a Foot large. The *Mogols* and *Indians*, both Men and Women, wear of them in Winter upon their Heads, passing them over their left Shoulder like a Mantle. They make two sorts of them; one, of the wool of the Countrey, which is finer than that of *Spain*; the other, of a Wool, or rather of an Hair, they call *Tonz*, taken from the Breast of a wild Goat of the great *Tibet*. These latter are of a far greater price than the former; neither

neither is there any Caster so soft and delicate. The mischief is, the worms get easily into it, unless you have a particular care often to unfold and air them. I have seen of these which the Ourabs purposely caused to be made, which cost an hundred and fifty Roupees. Of the others that are made of the Wool of the Countrey, I have seen none that costs above fifty.

'Tis observed of these ebales, that, work them never so carefully in Patna, Agra, and Lahor, you shall never make the Stuff so soft and fine, as in Kache-  
mire, which is commonly imputed to the particular Water of the Countrey. As at Messipatan they make those fine 20  
Stuffs, which become fairer by wash-  
ing.

The Kachemirians are also famous for their good complexion. They look as well as our Europeans, and have nothing of a Tartarian flat nos'd and little ey'd Face, as those of Kach-  
guer, and most of the people of the great Tibet. The Women especially are very beautiful; and therefore all

Stran-



Strangers, that are new-comers to the Court of *Mogol*, are furnished from thence, that so they may have Children whiter than the *Indians*, and which by this means may pass for true *Mogols*. And certainly, if one may judge of the Beauty of the retired Women by that of the common People, met with in the Streets, and seen up and down in the Shops, we must believe, that there are very handsome ones. At *Labor*, where they have the repute of being proper and slender, and the handsomest of the Brown Lasses of the *Indies* (as really they are) I used an Art which is ordinary among the *Mogols*, which is, to follow some Elephants, especially those that are richly harnessed; for as soon as those Women hear the two Bells hanging on the sides of those Beasts, they all put their heads out of the Windows. The same Trick I used here; and I made also use of another, in which I succeeded very well; it was devised by an old and famous Master of a School, whom I had taken to help me to understand

stand a *Persian* Poet. He made me buy store of *Confits*; and he being known and welcom every where, carried me into above 15 houses, telling them that I was his Kinsman, newly come out of *Persia*, that I was rich and to be married: As soon as we came into a house, he distributed *Confits* to the Children, and presently all came about us, *Women* and Children, great and small, to have their share, or to be seen. This curiosity alone cost me many a good *Roupy*; but it confirm'd me, that in *Kachemire* there are as fair Faces, as in any place of *Europe*.

There remains only to impart unto you what I observed most considerable between the Mountains, from *Bemher* hither, (with which perhaps I should have begun;) and after having given you an account of some other little Voyages I have been obliged to make in divers parts of this Kingdom, you will learn all I could come to know of the rest of the circumjacent Mountains.

98 *The Voyage of Kachemire,*

Concerning therefore first our Voyage from *Bemher* hither, it seem'd to me surprising enough, to find my self from the first night that we parted from *Bemher*, and entred into the Mountains, pass from a Torrid to a Temperate Zone: For, we had no sooner mounted this dreadful Wall of the world, I mean, this high, steep, black and bald mountain of *Bemher*, but that in descending on the other side, we found an Air that was pretty tolerable, fresh, gentle and temperate. But that which surpris'd me more in these Mountains, was, to find my self, in a trice, transported out of the *Indies* into *Europe*. For, seeing the Earth covered with all our plants and shrubbs, except *Issop*, *Thyme*, *Marjoram* and *Rosemary*, I imagined I was in some of our mountains of *Auvergne*, in the midst of a Forest of all our kinds of Trees, *Pines*, *Oaks*, *Elms*, *Plane-trees*. And I was the more astonish'd, because in all those burning Fields of *Indostan*, whence I came, I had seen almost nothing of all that.

the Paradise of INDOSTAN. 99

Among other things relating to Plants, this surpris'd me, that one and a half days journey from *Bember* I found a Mountain, that was cover'd with them on both sides; but with this difference, that on the side of the Mountain that was Southerly, toward the *Indies*, there was a mixture of *Indian* and *European* Plants, and on that which was expos'd to the North I observ'd none but *European* ones; as if the former had participat'd of the Air and temper of *Europe* and the *Indies*, and the other had been merely *European*.

As to the *Trees*, I admir'd this natural course of Generations and Corruptions: Below in these bottoms, where perhaps no man ever was, I saw hundreds that were falling, or fallen, one upon another, dead and half rotten of age; and other young and verdant ones growing out of the foot of those that were dead: Some of them also I saw burnt, whether it was from Lightning, or that in the heat of Summer they had taken fire by rubbing  
G 2                      them-



100 *The Voyage of Kachemire,*

themselves against one another, when they were agitated by some hot and impetuous wind; or, as the Country-people say, that they take fire of themselves, when they are grown old and dry.

I admired also those natural Cascades of water, which we found between those Rocks. We met, among others, one of them so wonderful, that doubtless it cannot be parallel'd. One seeth a far off from the side of an high Mountain, running down a Torrent of water in a Channel cover'd with Trees, and precipitate it self in a trice to the bottom of a steep Rock of a stupendious height, with a noise that is able to strike one deaf, like a *Cataract*. There was erected near it, a Theatre, upon a Rock, which *Jehan-Guire* had caused purposely to be made plain, that the Court passing, might there repose themselves, and from thence with conveniency behold this admirable Work-man-ship of Nature; which, as well as those old Trees, I was just now speaking of, seems to

re-

the Paradise of INDOSTAN. 101

resemble something of great Antiquity, and of the first production of the World.

All these divertisements were blended with an odd accident. On the day, that the King went up the Mountain of *Pire-penjale*, which is the highest of all, and whence one begins to discover a far off the Country of *Kachemire*; on that day, I say, that the King ascended this Mountain, being followed by a long row of Elephants, upon which sate the Women in *Mikdembars*, and *Embarys*; one of those Elephants was frighted by beholding, as the *Indians* would have it, such a long and steep ascent, and fell back upon him that was next, and he upon the next, and so on to the fifteenth, so that not one of them being able to turn in this way, which was extremely rude and steep, they all tumbled into the precipice. It was good fortune for those poor Women, that the precipice it self was not very steep, so that there were but three or four of them kill'd; but the fifteen Ele-

Elephants remain'd upon the place. When these bulky Masses do once fall under those vast burthens they are loaden with, they never rise again, though the way be never so fair. We saw them two days after, in passing by, and I observed some of them yet stirring their Trunk. This accident put the whole Army, which had marched four days along the Mountains in file, into great disorder, because to recover these women and all that wreck, a stop was made for the remainder of that day and all the night, every one being necessitated to stop where he was, because it was in many places impossible to advance or go back, and none had near him those Porters that carried his Tent and Victuals. As for my self, I was not in the worst condition, having found means to creep out of the way, and to take the conveniency of a small place to lye down in, for my self and my horse. And, to my good luck, one of my servants that follow'd me, had a little bread, which we shared together. I remember, it was there

there where stirring some stones we found a great black Scorpion, which a young Mogol of my acquaintance took, and squeezed it in his own hand, and then in the hand of my servant, and at last in mine, without our being stung by him. This young Cavalier said, that he had charm'd him, as he had done many others before, by a passage of the Alcoran, which he would not teach me, because, said he, the power of charming would pass to me and leave himself, as it had passed to him by quitting his Teacher.

In traversing this same Mountain of Pire-penjale, where the Elephants tumbled down, there occur'd those things which call'd to my mind some of my former philosophical thoughts. The first was, that in less than an hour we felt Summer and Winter; for in ascending we did sweat gross drops, all men going on foot in a burning Sun; and when we came to the top of the Mountain, we yet found the Icy Snow, that had been cut to open the way; there was a Frost upon a mistling Rain, and



104 The Voyage of Kashemire,

there blew a wind so cold, that all people shook and run away, especially the filly Indians, who never had seen Ice or Snow, nor felt such a cold.

The second was, that in less than two hundred paces I met with two quite contrary winds; one from the North, which blew in my face ascending, especially when I came near the top, and another from the South, which blew against my back in descending; as if this Hill had protruded exhalations out of its bowels from all sides, which coming forth had caused a wind that had descended and taken its course in those two opposite dales.

The third was the meeting an old Hermit, that had lived on the top of this Mountain since the time of Jehan-Gyze, and whose Religion was not known; though it was said, that he did miracles, caused strange thunders when he would, and raised storms of Hail, Snow, Rain and Wind. He look'd somewhat savage-like, having a long and large white Beard uncombed. He asked alms somewhat fiercely; suffer'd

us to take up water in earthen cups, he had ranged upon a great stone; made signe with his hand, importing that we should speedily march away, and grumbled at those that made a noise, because, said he to me, (when I was come into his Cave, and had a little sweetned his looks with half a Roupy, which with much humility I put into his hand) a noise raiseth furious storms and tempests. *Aureng-zebe*, said he further, did very well in following my counsel, and not permitting to make a noise: *Chah-Jehan* always took care of the same; but *Jehan-Guire* once mocking at it, and causing Trompers and Cymbals to sound, was like to have perished here.

In reference to the little Voyages I have made in divers parts of this Kingdom, behold the particulars I took notice of as I passed. We were no sooner arrived at *Kachemire*, but my *Navab Danechmend-kan* sent me, together with one of his Horse-men for a Convoy, and a Countrey-man, to one of the extremities of this Kingdom,

dom, three small days journey from hence, upon the relation made him, that this was the very time to see the Wonders (for so they speak of them) of a Spring that is thereabout. These Wonders are, that in the month of *May*, the time when the Snow begins but to melt, this Fountain, for about the space of fifteen days, regularly flows and stops thrice a day, at break of day, at noon, and at night: Its flowing ordinarily lasts three quarters of an hour, more or less, and that plentifully enough, to fill a square receptacle having steps to go down to it, and being about ten or twelve foot broad, and as many foot deep. After the first fifteen days, its course begins to be less regular, and less copious; and at length, after a month or thereabout, it quite stops and runs no more for the rest of the year, unless it be, that during some plentiful and long rains, it flows incessantly and without rule, as other Fountains do. The Gentils have on the side of the Receiver a little Temple of the Idol of *Brare*, which

is one of their false Deities; and thence it is that they call this Fountain Send-Brary, as if you should say, Water of Brare; and that thither they come from all parts in pilgrimage, to bathe and sanctify themselves in this miraculous water. Upon the origin of this Water they make many fables, which I shall not recite to you, because I find not the least shadow of truth in them. During the five or six days of my stay there, I did what possibly I could to find the reason of this Wonder. I did attentively consider the situation of the Mountain, at the foot of which this Spring is found: I went to the very top with great pains, searching and prying every where. I observed that it extends it self in length from North to South; that 'tis sever'd from other mountains, which yet are very near to it; that it is in the form of an Asses back; that its top, which is very long, hath not much more than an hundred paces where it is largest; that one of the sides of the Mountain, which is cover'd with no-



108 *The Voyage of Kachemire.*

thing but green grass, is exposed to the East, yet so that the Sun comes not to shine on't before eight a clock in the morning, because of the other opposite mountains; and lastly, that the other side, which is expos'd to the West, is covered with Trees and Bushes. All this being considered, I did imagine, that the heat of the Sun, together with the particular situation and the internal disposition of the Mountain, might very well be the cause of this pretended Miracle; that the Morning Sun, coming briskly to strike on the side opposite thereto, heats it, and melts part of the frozen waters, which, during the Winter, when all was covered with Snow, had insinuated themselves into the inner parts of the earth of this mountain; that these waters penetrating, and by little and little running down unto certain beds of quick rock, which retain and convey them toward the Spring-head, cause the flowing of the fountain at Noon; That the same Sun, raised to the South, and leaving  
that

that other side, now growing cold, for to strike with its beams as 'twere perpendicularly, the top, doth also melt other frozen waters, which likewise run down by little and little as the other, but by other turnings, unto those rocky beds, and cause the Flowing at Night: And that lastly, the Sun heating likewise this Western side, produceth the like effect, and causes the third flux in the Morning; which is slower than the two others, either because this Western side is remote from the Eastern where the Source is; or because that being covered with wood, it is not so soon heated; or by reason of the cold of the night. Now I found this my reasoning the more cogent, forasmuch as it seems to agree with what is affirmed, that in the first days the water comes in greater abundance than in the latter, and that at last it stops, and runs not at all; as if indeed in the beginning there were of those frozen waters greater plenty in the earth than at last. It seems also to agree with what is observed, that there are some days

110 The Usage of *Kachemire*,

days in the beginning, in which one flux is found more abounding than the other, and sometimes more at noon than in the evening or morning, or in the morning more than at noon; it commonly falling out so that some days there are hotter than others, or that some clouds arise which interrupt the equality of the heat, and consequently make the flux unequal.

Returning from *Send-brary* I turn'd a little aside from the road to go and lye at *Achiavel*, which is an House of pleasure of the ancient Kings of *Kachemire*, and at present of the Great *Mogol*. That which most adorns it, is a Fountain, the water whereof diffuseth it self on all sides round about that Fabrick (which is not despicable) and into the Gardens by an hundred canals. It breaks out of the Earth, as if by some violence it ascended up from the bottom of a Well, and that with such an abundance as might make it to be called a River rather than a Fountain. The water of it is admirably good, and so cold that one can hardly

## the Paradise of INDOSTAN III

hardly endure to hold ones hand in it. The Garden it self is very fine, there being curious Walks in it, and store of Fruit-bearing Trees, of Apples, Pears, Prunes, Apricocks and Cherries, and many jets of waters of various figures, and Ponds replenish'd with Fish, together with a very high Cascade of water, which by its fall maketh a great Nape of thirty or forty paces long, which hath an admirable effect, especially in the night, when under this Nape there is put a great number of little Lamps fitted in holes purposely made in the Wall; which maketh a curious shew.

From *Achiavel* I went yet a little more out of my way to pass through another Royal Garden, which is also very beautiful, and hath the same pleasantness with that of *Achiavel*, but this is peculiar in it, that in one of its Ponds there are Fishes that come when they are called, and when you cast bread to them, the biggest whereof have golden Rings in their Noses, with inscriptions about them, which they say that renowned



112 The Voyage of Kachemire,

renowned *Nour-Meballe*, the Wife of *Fehan Guyre*, the Grandfather of *Aureng-Zebe*, caused to be fastened in them.

I was no sooner returned from *Send-brary*, but *Danech-mend-kan*, well satisfied with my Voyage, made me undertake one more, to see another sure = Miracle, as he call'd it, which should be capable to make me soon change my Religion, and turn *Musselman*. Go, saith he, to *Baramoulay*, which is not further from hence than *Send-brary*; there you shall find a Mosque in which is the Tomb of one of our *Pires* or Saints, which still every day works Miracles in curing sick people, that flock thither from all parts: It may be, that you will believe nothing of all those miraculous Cures you shall see; but you will at least believe one Miracle, which is done every day, and you may see with your own eyes: And that is of a big round stone, which the strongest man is hardly able to raise in the least from the ground, but yet eleven men, by praying to that Saint,  
life

lift up, as if it were a straw, with the  
 end of their eleven fingers, without  
 any trouble at all, and without being  
 sensible of any weight. Hereupon I  
 began this journey also, accompanied  
 with my Horseman and the Countrey-  
 fellow, and being arrived at *Bara-*  
*moulay*, I found it a place pleasant  
 enough. The Mosque is sufficiently  
 well built, the Tomb of the preten-  
 ded Saint well adorn'd, and round,  
 about it there was store of people of  
 great devotion, who said they were  
 sick. Near the Mosque there was a  
 Kitchen with large Kettles full of Flesh  
 and Rice, which, in my opinion, was  
 the Magnet drawing the sick people  
 thither, and the Miracle that cured  
 them. On the other side was the Gar-  
 den and the Chambers of the *Mullahs*,  
 who with great conveniency and de-  
 light spend their life there, under the  
 shadow of the miraculous Sanctity of  
 this *Pyre*, which they are not wanting  
 to celebrate: But as I am always very  
 unhappy in such occasions, he did no  
 Miracle that day upon any of the sick.

As for the great Stone, which was the  
 business I came for; there were Ele-  
 ven Cheats of these *Mullahs* that crow-  
 ded together in a round; and by their  
 long Vests hindered me from seeing  
 well in what manner they took and  
 lifted it up, yet said all, that they  
 held it only with the end of one of  
 their fingers, and that it was as light  
 as a feather. For my part, who had  
 my eyes open and look'd on narrowly,  
 perceived well enough, that they  
 took great pains, and they seemed to  
 me, that they used also the thumb,  
 which they held very firm upon the  
 second finger bent and closed: But  
 yet I was not wanting to cry out as  
 well as the *Mullahs* and all the other  
 assistants; *Karamet, Karamet, Miracle,*  
*Miracle*; giving at the same time a  
 Roupie for the *Mullahs*, and with great  
 shew of devotion praying them to fa-  
 vour me with suffering me once to be  
 one of the Eleven lifters up of the  
 Stone. They did hesitate long before  
 they resolved to permit it; but having  
 given them another Roupie, and made  
 them

them believe I was perswaded of the truth of the Miracle, one of the Eleven gave me his place; they doubtless imagining, that Ten of them joyned together would be sufficient to do the business, though I should not add much to it, and that they would so range themselves and crowd together, that I should perceive nothing of their imposture. But they found themselves egregiously deceived, when they saw, that the Stone, which I would not support but only by the end of my finger, always inclined and fell to my side, until at length I found it necessary to put my thumb to it, and to hold it with my finger as they did; and then we lifted it up from the earth, yet not without much pain. Notwithstanding which, when I saw that they all looked upon me asquint, not knowing what to make of me, I still went on crying like the rest, *Karamet, Miracle, Miracle*, and over and above casting to them another Roupie to secure my self from being ston'd; and stealing away from among the crowd, I presently took



116 The Voyage of Kachemire,

horse, without eating or drinking, and left the Saint and the Miracles to those that had faith enough to believe them: Observing, as I passed along, that famous opening, which is an outlet to all the waters of this Kingdom, of which I have already said something in the beginning of this Book.

I left my way again, to approach to a great Lake, which I saw a far off, thorough the middle whereof passeth the River that runs to *Baramoulay*. It is full of Fish, especially Eels, and covered with Ducks and Wild fowl, and many other River fowl. 'Tis where the Governour comes in Winter, at which time 'tis covered with those creatures, to divert himself with fowling. In the midst of this Lake there is an Eremitage with its little Garden, which, as they say, doth miraculously float upon the water, and where the Eremit passeth his Life without ever going from it. Besides which, they make a thousand other ridiculous tales of it, which are not worth reciting, unless perhaps you will except what some

some have told me, That it was one of those ancient Kings of *Kachemire*, who out of curiosity caused this Eremitage to be built upon thick beams fastened to one another.

Thence I went to find out a Fountain, which hath something that's rare enough in it; bubbling up gently, and rising with some little impetuosity, and making small bubbles of air, and carrying with it, to the top, some small Sand that is very fine, which goeth away again as it came, the water becoming still, a moment after it, without ebullition, and without bringing up Sand; and soon after beginning afresh as before, and so continuing its motion by intervals, which are not regular. But the Wonder, as they say, consists in this, that the least noise, made by speaking, or by knocking ones foot against the ground, moveth the water, and maketh it run and buble as was said. Yet I found plainly, that speaking or knocking availeth nothing to produce that effect, and that it moveth as well when one saith nothing, as when one speaks

118 *The Voyage of Kachemire,*

or knocketh. But now, to give the true cause of it, *that* requireth more thinking than I have bestow'd upon it; unless one should say, that the Sand, by falling down again, obstructeth the narrow channel of this small and weak spring, until the water, being closed up and kept in, make an effort to remove and raise again the Sand, and so to disengage it self; or rather, that some wind, pent in the Channel of the Spring, rises by turns, as it comes to pass in artificial Fountains.

After we had considered this Fountain, we entred into the Mountains to see a great Lake, which bath Ice in Summer, and looketh like a little icy Sea, having heaps of Ice, made and unmade by the Winds. Afterwards we passed through a certain place, call'd Seng-safed, that is, White stone; which is famous for being full all the Summer long of all sorts of Flowers like a Parterre, and for this observation, that when much people goes thither, making a great noise and much stirring the air, there presently falls a shower of

of rain. This is certain, that when, some years since, *Cbah-Jehan* went thither, he was in danger of perishing by the great and extraordinary rain survening, though he had commanded, they should make the least noise they could. This agreed with what my *Eremite of Pirepengale* had told me.

And now I was going to a Grotta of odd congelations; which is two days journey from thence; but I received news, that after my so long absence my *Napah* was troubled about me.

As to the condition of the neighbouring Mountains round about, I have, since our being here, done what possibly I could to inform my self about them; but I have profited but little, for want of people that are intelligent and observe things; yet notwithstanding I will not omit to relate to you what I have learn'd of it.

The Merchants of *Kachemire*, that go every year from mountain to mountain, gathering fine Wool to make those Stuffs I have above been speaking of, do all agree, that between the moun-



mountains, which still depend from *Kachemire*, there are found very fine places of good land, and that amongst others there is one place, which pays its tribute in Leather and Wooll, sent for by the Governour every year; and where the Women are extream handsome, chaste and laborious; that there is also another farther off from *Kachemire*, which also pays its tribute in Leather and Woll, and hath very pretty, though but small, fertile plains, and most pleasant vallies, abounding in Corn, Rice, Apples, Pears, excellent Apricocks and Melons; as also in Raisins yielding very good Wine; the Inhabitants whereof have sometimes refused to pay the tribute, relying upon the difficulty of access to their Country; but there hath always been a way found to enter and to reduce them. The same Merchants agree also, that among the other Mountains, that are more distant and depend no more from *Kachemire*, there are likewise found very pleasant Countrys, peopled with very handsome Whites, but such as almost

most never come out from their homes; of which some have no Kings, nor, as far as could be perceived, any Religion; only that some of them do eat no Fish, counting them unclean.

I shall add here, what I was lately told by a good ancient man, that had married a Wife of the ancient Family of the Kings of *Kachemire*. He said, that when *Jehan-Guire* made a strict inquiry after all those that were of that Family, he was afraid to be taken, and thereupon fled with three Servants cross these mountains, not knowing in a manner whither he went; that thus wandring he came at last into a very fine smal Canton, where when it came to be known who he was, the inhabitants came to visit him and brought him presents, and that, to make up their kindness, they brought to him in the evening one of the beautifullest of their young Maidens, praying him that he would bed with her, because they desired very much to have issue of his Blood: That passing from thence into another Canton, not much distant from

- from the former, the people likewise came to see him, and to present him; but that the kindness of the evening was far different from the other, in that these inhabitants brought to him their own Wives, arguing that those of the other Canton were Beasts, because that his Blood would not remain in their house, since the Maidens would carry the Child with them into the house of him, to whom they should be married.

I may further add, that some years since, there being a dissention risen between the family of the King of the little Tibet, which borders upon Kachemire, one of the pretenders to the Crown did secretly call for the assistance of the Governour of *Kachemire*, who by order of *Chah-Jehan* gave him powerful succours, and put to death or flight all the other pretenders, and left this man in the possession of the Country, on condition of an annual tribute to be paid in Crystal, Musc and Wool. This petty King could not forbear coming to see *Aureng-Zebe*,  
bringing

bringing with him a present of those things I just now named; but he had so pitiful a train, that I should never have taken him for what he was. My *Navab* entertained him at dinner, that he might receive the better information concerning those Mountains. I heard him say, that his Country on the East side did confine with great Tibet; that it was about 30 or 40 leagues broad; that there was indeed some little Crystal, Musc, and Wool, but for the rest very poor; and that there were no Gold Mines as was said; that in some places there was very good fruit, especially Melons; that they had very hard Winters and very troublesome because of the deep Snows; and that the people, which formerly had been Heathen, was almost all become Mahumetan, as himself, namely, of that Sect called *Chia*, which is that of all *Persia*. Besides, that seventeen or eighteen years agoe *Chah-Jehan* had attempted to make himself Master of the Kingdom of the Great Tibet, as formerly also had done the Kings of *Kachemire*; that his

Army



Army after sixteen days difficult march, always among Mountains, did besiege a Castle which they took; that there remain'd no more for him to do, than to pass a River, which is famous and very rapid, and thereupon to march directly to the Capital Town, which he would have easily carried, the whole Kingdom being in a panick terror; but that the season being far spent, the Governour of *Kachemire*, who was the General of that Army, did apprehend he should be surpris'd by the Snow, and so returned, leaving in that Castle a Garrison, which, whether it was from fear of the Enemy, or from want of sufficient provision, he could not say, soon abandon'd it; which broke the design the Governour had of returning thither the next Spring.

Now that the King of this Great Tibet knows, that *Aureng-Zebe* is at *Kachemire*, and threatens him with War, he hath sent to him an Ambassadour, with presents of the Country, as Crystal, and those dear White Cow-tails,

tailes, by way of ornament fasten'd to  
the ears of Elephants, as also Musc,  
 and a Stone of *Jachen* of great price,  
 because of an extraordinary bigness.  
 This *Jachen* is a blewish Stone with  
white veins so hard that it is wrought  
with nothing else but the Powder of  
Diamond, highly esteemed in the Court  
 of the *Mogol*. They make Cups of it  
 and other vessels, of which I have  
 some richly wrought with threads of  
 Gold, of very curious Workmanship.  
 The Train of this Ambassadour did  
 consist of three or four Cavaliers, and  
 ten or twelve tall men, dry and lean,  
 having three or four hairs in their  
 beards like the *Chinese*, and plain red  
 Bonets upon their heads like our Sea-  
 men, the rest of their Garments suita-  
 ble. I think there were four or five of  
 them with Swords, but the rest march-  
 ed behind the Ambassadour without  
 any rod or stick. He treated with  
*Aureng-Zebe* in his Masters name, pro-  
miting that he would suffer a Mosque  
to be built in the Capital City, wherein  
Prayers should be made after the Ma-  
 hometan

hometan way ; that the mony, henceforth to be coined, should on the one side have the impress of *Aureng-Zebe*, and that he would pay him a certain annual Tribute. But 'tis believed, that as soon as this King shall know that *Aureng-Zebe* is gone from *Kachemire*, he will laugh at all this Treaty, as he did formerly at that, which he had made with *Chah-Jehan*.

This Ambassadour had in his suite a Physician, which was said to be of the Kingdom of *Lassa*, and of the Tribe *Lamy* or *Lama*, which is that of the men of the Law in that Country, as the *Brabmans* are in the *Indies* ; with this difference, that the *Brabmans* have no *Caliph*, or High-priest, but the *Lami-ans* have one that is not only acknowledged for such by the Kingdom of *Lassa*, but also by all *Tartary*, and who is honoured and revered like a Divine person. This Physician had a Book of Receipts, which he would never tell to me ; the writing of it seem'd, at a distance, somewhat like ours. We made him begin to write the

the Alphabet, but he wrote so slowly, and his writing was so bad in respect of that in his Book, that we soon judged, this must needs be a poor Doctor. He was much wedded to the *Metempsychosis* or Transmigration of Souls, and was full of admirable stories of it; among the rest he related of his great *Lama*, that when he was old and ready to dye, he assembled his Council, and declared to them, that now he was passing into the Body of a little Child, lately born, that this Child was bred up with great care, and when it was about six or seven years old, they brought to it store of household-stuff pel-mel with his own, and that the Child was able to distinguish those, that were or had been his from that of others: Which was, said this Doctor, an authentick proof of the Transmigration. For my part, I thought at first he rallied, but I found at last, that he spoke very seriously. I was once to see him at the Ambassadors with a Merchant of *Kachemire*, that knew the Language of *Tibet*, and was an Interpreter to me.



I made as if I would buy some Stuffs he had brought to sell, which were some kind of ratines of about a foot and an half broad; but it was really to learn something of that Country, yet it was no great matter I obtain'd from him. He only told me in general, that all the Kingdom of the great *Tibet* was, in comparison to his, a miserable Countrey, full of Snow for more than five months of the year; that his King made often War with the Tartars; but he could never distinguish to me, what kind of *Tartars* they were. At length, after I had made a good many questions to him, without receiving any satisfaction upon them, I saw I lost only my time with him.

But there is another thing, which is so certain, that no body here doubts of it. 'Tis not yet twenty years, that there went Caravans every year from *Kachemire*, which crossed all those Mountains of the great *Tibet*, entred into *Tartary*, and arriv'd in about three months at *Cataja*, notwithstanding the very ill ways, and the rapid Torrents; which

which latter are to be passed over  
 Cords stretched from one Rock to a-  
 nother. These Caravans brought back  
Musc, China-wood, Rubarb, and Mami-  
ron, which last is a small root exceed-  
ing good for ill Eyes. Repassing over  
 the great Tibet they also loaded them-  
 selves with the Merchandise of that  
Country, viz. Musc, Crystal and Ja-  
chen, but especially with store of very  
 fine Wooll of two sorts, one of sheep, 119  
 and the other called Toux, which is  
 rather, as I have said, a kind of hair 94-  
 approaching to our Castor, than a  
Wooll. But since the attempt, which  
Chah-Jehan made on that side, the King  
 of the great Tibet hath altogether shut  
 up the way, and suffers not any one  
 from Kachemire to enter into his Coun-  
 try: And thence it is, that the Cara-  
 vans at present go from Patna upon  
 the Ganges, not passing through his  
 Country at all, but leaving it on the  
 left hand, and coming directly to the  
Kingdom of Lassa.

Concerning this Kingdom, here  
 called Kacheguer, which doubt-  
 I less

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less is that which our Maps call *Kasgar*, I shall relate to you what I was able to learn of it from the Merchants of the Country it self, who, knowing that *Aureng-zebe*, was to stay a while at *Kachemire*, were come thither with a good number of Slaves, of both Sexes, whom they had to sell. They say, that the Kingdom of *Kacheguer* lyeth East of *Kachemire*, drawing a little Northward; that the shortest way thither was to go directly to the great *Tibet*; but that passage being obstructed, they were forced to take their way through the little *Tibet*; that first they went to a small Town, call'd *Gourtohe*, the last Town depending from *Kachemire*, and four days journey distant from the same; that from thence in eight days they came to *Eskerdou*, the Capital City of the King of the little *Tibet*; and thence in two days more to a small Town call'd *Cbeker*, likewise belonging to the little *Tibet*, and situate upon a River very famous for being Medicinal; that in fifteen days they came to a great Forest upon the Con-  
fines

the Paradise of *INDOSTAN*. 131

finest of the little *Tibet*, and in fifteen days more to *Kacheguer* a small Town, once the seat of the King of *Kacheguer*, which is now at *Jourkend*, lying somewhat more to the North, and ten days journey distant from *Kacheguer*. They added, that from the Town of *Kacheguer* to *Katay* 'tis no more but two months voyage; that every year there go Caravans, bringing back of all those Commodities I have named, and passing into *Persia* thorough *Usbeck*, as there are others that do pass to *Patna* in *Indostan*. They said moreover, that to go from *Kacheguer* to *Katay*, Travellers must get to a Town that is eight days journey from *Coten*, the last town of the Kingdom of *Kacheguer*; that the ways from *Kachemire* to *Kacheguer* are very difficult; that among others there is a place, where, in what season soever it be, you must march for about a quarter of a league upon Ice. This is all, I could learn of those parts, which though indeed it be very much confused and very little, yet will it be found much, considering



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I had to do *both* with people so ignorant, that they almost know not to give a reason of any thing; and with Interpreters, who, for the most part, know not how to make the Questions to be understood, nor intelligibly to deliver the Answers made thereto.

I thought once, I would have here concluded this Letter, or rather this Book, and taken my leave of you until I came to *Dehli*, whither we are now returning: But since I am in the vein of writing, and at some leisure, I shall endeavour to give you some satisfaction to those Five particulars, you demanded of me in your last Letter in the name of *Monsieur Thevenot*, that illustrious person, who daily giveth us more discoveries, without going out of his study, than we have learned of those that have gone round the world.

The first of his demands is, *Whether it be true, that in the Kingdom of Kachemire there are Jews settled there from immemorial times; and if so, whether they have the Holy Scripture, and if their*

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*their Old Testament be altogether conform to ours ?*

**The Second is,** *That I would give you an account of what I have observed touching the Mounsons, or the Season of the ordinary Rains in the Indies. 136*

**The Third is,** *That I would give you my Observations, and declare to you my Thoughts concerning the wonderful regularity of the Current of the Sea, and the Winds in the Indies. 140*

**The Fourth is,** *Whether the Kingdom of Bengale is so fertile, so rich, and so beautiful, as 'tis said to be ? 148*

**The Fifth is,** *That I would at length decide unto you the old Controversie touching the Causes of the Increase of the Nile. 163*

*Answer to the first Demand,  
concerning the Jews.*

**I** Should indeed be very glad, as well as Monsieur Thevenot, that there were Jews to be found in the Valley of those Mountains, who might be such, as I believe he would have them; I mean, of those Ten Tribes transported by Sal-manasser.

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*manasser*. But you may assure him, that if anciently there have been of them in this place (as there is some reason to believe there were,) there are none of them at present, and all the inhabitants of it are now either Gentiles or Mahumetans, and that perhaps 'tis *China*, where they may be found. For I have lately seen, in the hands of our Reverend Father, the Jesuite of *Debli*, some Letters of a *German* Jesuite written from *Pekin*, taking notice that he had there seen some of them, that had preserved the Jewish Religion and the Old Testament, that knew nothing of the Death of JESUS CHRIST, and that they would even have made this Jesuite their *Kacan*, if he would have forborn to eat Swines flesh.

Mean time *here* also are not wanting several marks of *Judaism*. The first is, that at the entering into this Kingdom, after having passed the Mountains of *Fire-penjale*, all the Inhabitants I saw in the first Villages seemed to me to be *Jews*, in their garbe and meen, and in something peculiar, which maketh

keth us often discern nations frome one another. I am not the only person, that hath had this thought; our Father, the Jesuite, and many of our *Europeans* had the same before me. The *second* is, that I have observ'd, that among the meaner sort of the people of this Town, though they be *Mahometans*, yet the name of *Moufa*, that is *Moses*, is much used. The *third*, that commonly they say, that *Salomon* came into their Country, and that it was he that cut the Mountain of *Baramoule* to give an outlet to the waters. The *fourth*, that they say, *Moses* died at *Kachemire*, and that his Tomb is one league distant from this Town. The *fifth*, that they pretend, that that little and very ancient Edifice, which appears from hence upon an high mountain, was built by *Salomon*, and that thence they call it to this very day the *Throne of Salomon*. So that I would not deny, but that some Jews may have penetrated hither, and that in length of time they may have lost the purity of their Law, turned

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ned Idolaters ; at last Mahumetans. In short, we see store of the Jewish Nation that have passed into *Persia* to *Lar*, *Ispahan*, and also into *Indostan* on the side of *Goa* and *Cochin* : I have been informed, that there were of them in *Æthiopia*, even gallant and military men, and some of them so considerable and potent, that there was one of them, fifteen or sixteen years agoe, that had attempted to make himself King of a little Country of the Mountains of a very hard access ; if it be true, what two Ambassadours of the King of *Æthiopia*, that were lately in this Court, related to me.

*Answer to the Second Demand, about the stated Rains in the Indies.*

**T**He Sun is so strong and violent in the *Indies* all the year long, and principally for the space of eight months, that he would burn all, and render the Country barren and inhabitable, if Providence had not particularly provided and disposed things in

so admirable a way, as that in the month of *July*, when the heats are most violent, Rains begin regularly to fall, which continuing for three months together, do temper the Earth, and render it very fruitful, and so qualifie the Air that it may be endured. Yet are not these Rains so regular, that they fall always just at the same time; of which I have made many observations in different places, and principally at *Debli*, where I lived a long while. The like is found in other Countries; and there is always some difference in the time from year to year: For sometimes they begin or end a fortnight or three weeks sooner, sometimes later; and there are also some years, in which they are not so plentiful as in others; insomuch that two years together it did almost not rain at all; which caused much Sickness, and great Famine. Besides, there is also this difference in respect of Countries different and remote from one another, that these Rains ordinarily begin sooner, or are more plentiful in one than in the other.

For

133: a 49  
79: b -

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For example, in *Bengale* and along the Coast of *Coromandel*, as far as to the Isle of *Ceilan*, they begin and end a month sooner than towards the Coast of *Malabar*: And in *Bengale* these Rains are pouring down for four months, and sometimes continue for eight days and nights together without intermission; Whereas at *Dehli* and *Agra* they are never so strong, nor so durable, there passing sometimes two or three whole days without any Rain; and ordinarily the whole morning from break of day until about nine or ten a clock it rains but very little or nothing. But the most considerable difference I have observ'd, is, that the rains in divers places come from different quarters of the world; as about *Dehli* they come from the East, where lies *Bengale*; whereas, on the contrary, in the parts of *Bengale* and upon the Coast of *Coromandel* they come from the South; and upon the Coast of *Malabar* they proceed almost always from the West.

I have also observed another particular about which they all agree in those

those parts, *viz.* That according as the Heat of the Summer comes sooner or later, is more or less violent, and lasts longer or a shorter time; the Rains also come sooner or later, are more or less plentiful, last longer or a shorter time.

These Observations have given me ground to believe, that the Heat of the Earth and the Rarefaction of the Air must be the principal causes of these Rains, and draw them; forasmuch as the Air of the Seas, which lie near round about the Lands, being colder, more condensed and more grosse, filled with clouds which the great heats of the Summer raise from the waters, and which the winds drive and agitate, dischargeth it self easily upon the Land, where the Air is hotter, more rarified, in more motion and less resisting than upon the Seas, so as that this discharge is more or less tardy and abundant, according as the Heat comes sooner and is more violent.

Sutable to the same Observations I was perswaded that if the Rains begin sooner



sooner upon the Coast of *Coromandel* than upon that of *Malabar*, 'tis by reason that the Summer begins there sooner, it being possible that there it may do so for some particular reasons, which perhaps would not be hard to find, if the Country were well examin'd: For we know, that according to the different situation of a Land in respect of Seas or Mountains, and according as 'tis more Sandy, or Hilly, or Woody, the Summer comes there either sooner or later, and with more or less violence.

I am further perswaded, that it is no wonder, that the Rains come from different quarters; that upon the Coast of *Coromandel*, for example, they come from the South, and upon that of *Malabar* from the West; because that in all appearance it must be the nearest Seas that send them, and the Coast of *Coromandel* is nearer to the Sea, which lyeth Southerly in respect of it, and is more exposed to it, as the Coast of *Malabar* is to the West of it, lying towards *Babelmandel*, *Arabia*,

*rabia*, and the Gulf of *Persia*.

Lastly, I have imagined, that if at *Debli*, for example, the Rains come from the East, it may yet be that the Seas which are Southerly to it, are the origin of them; but that they are forced by reason of some Mountains, or some other Lands where the Air is colder, more condensed and more resisting, to turn aside and discharge themselves another way, where the Air is more rarified, and where consequently they find less resistance.

I forgot to tell you, that I also observed at *Debli*, that there it never rains to purpose, till for many days there have passed store of Clouds Westward; as if it were necessary that those spaces of Air which are beyond *Debli* Westward, should be first filled with Clouds, and that these Clouds finding there some obstacle, as it may be some Air less hot and less rarified, and consequently more condensed and more able to resist, or some other contrary Clouds and Winds repelling them, should become so thick, so burthenfom

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burthensom and so heavy, that they must fall down in Rain, after the same manner as it often enough falls out, when the Wind driveth the Clouds against some high Mountain.

*Answer to the third Demand, which is concerning the Regularity of the Current of the Sea, and of the Winds in the Indies.*

**A**S soon as the Rains do cease (which ordinarily comes to pass towards the month of October.) it is observed, that the Sea taketh its course Southward, and that the cold Northern Wind ariseth. This Wind blows for four or five months without intermission and without storms, always keeping the same equality as to its strength and quarter, unless it change or cease a day or so by accident, but then it returns again unto its former place and temper. After that time, for two months or thereabout the other Winds do reign without any rule. These two months being past, which

is

is called the Intermediate season, or, according to the Hollanders, the Wavering or Changing Season, the Sea returns back from South to North, and the South-wind riseth to reign also in his turn for four or five months, as the Current of the Sea doth: so that there pass two months of intermediate season; during which, Navigation is very difficult and dangerous, whereas during the two Seasons it is very easie, pleasant and without peril, except it be about the end of the season of the South-wind. Hence you may find cause not to wonder, if you hear that the Indians, though else very timorous and inexpert in the art of Navigation, do notwithstanding make pretty long and considerable Voyages; as when they sail from Bengale to Tanassery, Achem, Malague, Sian and Makassar; or to Mastipatan, Ceilan, the Maldives, Maku, and Bender-Abassy; because they take their time to go with one good Season, and to return with the other. 'Tis true, that oft enough they are surprised and cast away; but that



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that is, when they cannot dispatch their  
affairs in good time, or faile of taking  
their measures. Our *Europeans* also  
do sometimes lose themselves, though  
they be far better Sea-men, bolder  
and more understanding, and their  
Ships better condition'd and equip-  
ped.

Of these two intermediate Seasons,  
that which maketh the *South-wind* is  
incomparably more dangerous than  
the other, and much more subject to  
tempests and storms: And even in the  
Season it self this wind is ordinarily  
much more impetuous and unequal  
than that of the *North*. And here I  
must not omit to give you a remark,  
which is, that about the end of the  
Season of the *South-wind*, during the  
time of the rain, although there be a  
great calm out at Sea, yet 'tis very  
tempestuous near the Coasts; to the  
distance of fifteen or twenty leagues:  
whence the Ships of *Europe* or others,  
when they will approach the *Indian*  
Coasts, for example, of *Suratte*, or *Ma-*  
*ssipatan*, must be very careful of taking  
their

their time to arrive just after the Rains; or else they run great hazard of being split and lost upon the Coast.

This is very near what I could observe of the Seasons in these parts; of which I much wish I could give you a good reason. I shall venture to tell you, that it came into my thoughts, *first*, that the Air, which environs the Globe of the Earth, ought to be esteemed to have a share in it, as also the Water of the Sea and Rivers, forasmuch as both the one and the other gravitate upon this Globe; tend to the same Center of it; and so are in some manner united and fasten'd to it; so that from these three Bodies, the Air, the Water and the Earth, there results as 'twere one great Globe. Next, that the Globe of the Earth being suspended and balanced, as it is in its place, in that free and un-resisted space; where the Creator thought good to place it; would be capable to be easily mov'd; if some adventitious Body should come against it and hit it. *Thirdly*, that the Sun

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having

having past the Line to move towards one of the Poles, for example, the Arctique, coming to cast its rays that way, maketh there impressi<sup>o</sup>n enough to depresse a little the Arctique Pole, and to do that more and more according as it advanceth towards the Tropicque; letting it rise again by little and little, according as he returns towards the Line, until by the force of his rayes he do the like on the side of the Antarctique Pole.

If these suppositions, joyn'd to that of the Diurnal Motion of the Earth, were true, it were not, me thinks, without reason what is commonly affirm'd in the Indies, viz. That the Sun conducts and carries with him the Sea and Wind. For, if it be true, that having passed the Line to go towards one of the Poles, he causeth a change in the direction of the Axis of the Earth, and a depression in the Pole on that side, the other Pole must needs be raised, and that consequently the Sea and the Air, being two fluid and heavy Bodies, run down in this inclination: so that it would

would be true to say, that the Sun advancing towards one Pole, causeth on that side two great regular Currents, viz. that of the Sea, and that of the Air which maketh the Monsoon-wind, as he causeth two opposite ones, when he returns towards the other Pole.

Upon this ground, methinks, it might be said, that there are no other but two *main* opposite Fluxes of the Sea, one from the side of the Pole *Arctique*, the other from that of the *Ant-artique*; that if there were a Sea from one Pole to the other, that passed through our *Europe*, we should see, that these two Currents would there be regular every where, as they are in the *Indies*, and that that, which hinders this regularity of the Flux from being general, is, that the Seas are intercepted by Lands, which impede, break, and vary their Course; in like manner as some say, that the Ordinary Flux and Reflux of the Sea is hinder'd in those Seas that lye in length, as the *Mediterranean* doth



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from East to West. And so likewise  
might it be said upon the same Founda-  
tion, that there are but two prin-  
cipal opposite Winds or Fluxes of the  
Air, and that they would be univer-  
sally regular, if the Earth were per-  
fectly smooth and equall, and one part  
like another every where.

*An Answer to the Fourth Question,  
concerning the Fertility, Riches  
and Beauty of the Kingdom of Ben-  
gale.*

ALL Ages have spoken of *Egypt*  
as of the best and fruitfullest part  
of the World; and Writers will not  
grant, there is any Country compa-  
rable to it: But as far as I can see by  
the two Voyages I have made in the  
Kingdom of *Bengale*, I am of opinion,  
that that advantage belongs rather to  
it, than to *Egypt*. It bears *Rice* in  
that abundance, that it not only fur-  
nishes its Neighbours, but many very  
remote parts. 'Tis carried up the Ri-

ver

ver *Ganges* to *Patna*; and 'tis transported by Sea to *Massipatan*, and to many other Ports of the Coast of *Coromandel*. Besides, 'tis sent away into forrain Kingdoms, and principally into *Ceilan* and the *Maldives*. Further, it also abounds in *Sugar*, so that it furnishes with it the Kingdoms of *Golkonda* and *Karnates*, where there grows but very little. *Arabia* also and *Mesopotamia* are thence provided with it, by the way of *Moka* and *Bassora*; and *Persia* it self, by *Bander-Abassy*. Moreover, *Bengale* is also the Country of good *Confits*, especially in those places where the *Portugueses* are, who are dextrous in making them, and drive a great trade with them. They ordinarily make store of those big *Pome-Citrons*, as we have in *Europe*; and a certain *Root*, which is longish like *Sarsaparilla*, and very delicate; and of that common Fruit of the *Indies* call'd *Amba*, and of *Ananas*, and the small *Mirobolans*, which are excellent; as also of *Lemons* and *Ginger*.

'Tis true, that the Country of *Ben-*

*Gale*

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*gale* yields not so much *Corn* as *Egypt*; but if that be a defect, it is to be imputed to its *Inhabitants* that eat very little *Bread*, and much more *Rice* than the *Egyptians*: Yet it always bears what is sufficient for the Country, and to afford excellent *Biscuits*, very cheap, for the provision of our *European Ships*, *English*, *Dutch*, and *Portuguese*. You may there have almost for nothing those three or four kinds of *Legumes*, which together with *Rice* and *Butter* are the most usual food of the meaner people: And for a *Roupy*, which is about half a *Crown*, you may have twenty good *Pullets* and more; *Geese* and *Ducks*, in proportion. There are also kids and *Sheep* in abundance, and such store of *Pore*, that the *Portuguese*, settled there and accustomed to the Country, live almost on nothing else but that; and the *English* and *Dutch* victual their *Ships* with it. There is also plenty of many sorts of *Fish*, both fresh and salt: And, in a word, *Bengale* is a Country abounding in all things; and 'tis for this very reason, that

that so many *Portugueses*, *Messicks*, and other Christians are fled thither from those quarters, which the *Dutch* have taken from them. For, the *Jesuits* and *Augustinians*, that have great Churches there, wherein they exercise their Religion with all freedom, did assure me, that in *Ogonli* alone there were no less than eight or nine thousand Souls of Christians; and (which I will easily believe) that in the rest of that Kingdom there were above twenty five thousands. And 'tis this affluence of all those things necessary for life, joyned to the Beauty and good Humour of the Women natives, that hath occasioned this Proverb amongst the *Portugueses*, *English*, and *Hollanders*, viz. That there are an hundred open Gates to enter into the Kingdom of *Bengale*, and not one to come away again.

As to the Commodities of great value, and which draw the Commerce of Strangers thither; I know not, whether there be a Country in the World, that affords more and greater variety: For, besides the *Sugar* I have spoken of,



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of which may be numbred amongst the Commodities of value, there is such store of *Cottons* and *Silks*, that it may be said, that *Bengale* is as 'twere the general Magazine thereof, not only for *Indostan* or the Empire of the Great *Mogol*, but also for all the circumjacent Kingdoms, and for *Europe* it self. I have sometimes stood amazed at the vast quantity of Cotton-Cloth of all sorts, fine and others, tinged and white, which the *Hollanders* alone draw from thence and transport into many places, especially into *Japon* and *Europe*; not to mention what the *English*, *Portingal* and *Indian* Merchants carry away from those parts. The like may be said of the *Silks* and *Silk-Stuffs* of all sorts: One would not imagine the quantity, that is hence transported every year; for, this Country furnishes generally all this great Empire of *Mogol* as far as *Labor* and *Caboul*, and most of the other foreign parts, whither Cotton-Cloth is carried. 'Tis true, that these *Silks* are not so fine as those of *Persia*, *Syria*, *Sajd* and *Barrut*; but then there is also

a great difference in the price ; and I know from good hands, that whosoever shall take care of choosing them well, and of getting them well wrought, may have very good *Stuffs* made of them. The *Hollanders* alone have sometimes seven hundred or eight hundred men of the *Natives* at work in their Factory of *Kassim-Bazar* ; as the *English* and other Merchants have theirs in proportion.

It is also in *Bengale*, where that prodigious quantity of *Salt-peter* is found, which is so conveniently carried down the *River Ganges* from *Patna*, and where the *English* and *Dutch* load whole Ships full for many places of the *Indies* and for *Europe*.

Lastly, 'tis *Bengale*, whence the good *Lacca*, *Opium*, *Wax*, *Civet*, *long Pepper* do come ; and even *Butter* is to be had there in so great plenty, that though it be a gross Commodity, yet notwithstanding 'tis thence transported into divers places.

It cannot be denied that the *Air*, in regard of Strangers, is not so healthy there

there, especially near the Sea: And when the *English* and *Hollanders* first came to settle there, many of them dyed; and I have seen in *Balasor* two very fine *English* Ships, which having been obliged, by reason of the War of the *Hollanders*, to stay there above a year, were not able to go to Sea, because most of their Men were lost. Yet since the time that they have taken care and made orders, as well as the *Hollanders*, that their people shall not drink so much *Bouleponges*, nor go so often a shore to visit the Sellers of *Arac* and *Tobacco*, and the *Indian* Women; and since they have found, that a little Wine of *Bordeaux*, *Canary* or *Chiras* is a marvellous Antidote against the ill Air; there is not so much sickness amongst them, nor do they now lose so many men. *Bouleponge* is a certain beverage made of *Arac*, that is, of strong water, black Sugar, with the Juice of Limon water, and a little Muscadine upon it; which is pleasant enough to the taste, but a plague to the Body and to Health.

As to the Beauty of the Country, you are to know, that all *Bengale*, taking it near an hundred leagues in length on both sides of *Ganges*, from *Raje-mebale* unto the Sea, is full of great Channels, formerly cut out of the River *Ganges* with vast labour, reaching far into the Country for the conveniency of transporting Commodities, and the Water it self, which, by the *Indians* is counted the best in the world. These Channels are on both sides lined with well-peopled Villages and Burroughs of Gentiles, and the large Fields, lying near them, bear abundance of Rice, Sugar, Corn, Legumes, Mustard, *sazamum* for Oil, small Mulberries of two or three foot high, to feed Silk-worms. But then the vast number of great and small Isles, that are in the midst of *Ganges*, and fill all that great space of six or seven days journey, (as there is in some places of this River from one side to the other,) this giveth an incomparable Beauty to the Country: For, they are very fertile, filled with fruit-bearing

Trees



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Trees, *Ananas's*, and all sorts of verdure, and interlaced with a thousand little Channels, which you cannot see the end of, as if they were so many Water-mills all covered with Trees. The worst of it is, that many of these Isles that are next the Sea, are now abandoned by reason of those *Corfaires*, the *Frangays* of *Rakan*, elsewhere spoken of; and that they have at present no other Inhabitants but *Tigers* (which sometimes swim over from one Isle to the other) and *Gazelles*, and *Hoggs*, and *Poultry* grown wild. And 'tis upon the account of these *Tigers*, that for people travelling between these little Isles in small boats, as usually they do, 'tis dangerous in many places to land; besides, great care is to be had, that the boat, which in the night is fastened to Trees, be not too near the Bank; for there are now and then some men surpris'd; and I have heard it said, that *Tigers* have been so bold as to come into the boats, and to carry away men that were asleep, chusing the biggest and fattest of them, if one may believe

believe the Water-men of the Country  
 I remember, I made once a voyage  
 of ten days, from *Pipli* to *Ogouli*, be-  
 tween those Isles and Channels; which  
 I cannot forbear to relate to you;  
 because there passed not a day with-  
 out some extraordinary accident. My  
 Chaloupe of seven Oars was no sooner  
 got out of the River *Pipli*, and advan-  
 ced 3 or 4 leagues into the Sea along the  
 coast, to gain the Isles and the Chan-  
 nels, but we saw the Sea covered with  
 Fishes like huge Carps, pursued by a  
 Shole of Dolphins. I made my men  
 row that way, and saw, that most of  
 those Fishes lay along the Coast as if  
 they were dead; that some advanced  
 a little, others played and tumbled as  
 if they were drunk. We all laboured  
 to take some of them, and we caught  
 24. with our hands without any diffi-  
 culty. Viewing them I observed, that  
 out of all their mouths there came out  
 a bladder (like those that are in Carps,)  
 which was full of Air, and reddish at  
 the end. I imagined easily, that this  
 must be the bladder which kept them  
 from

from sinking; but I could not conceive, why it should thus come out of their mouth, unless it were that they had been long and closely pursued by those Dolphins, and had made so great an effort to fly away as to make this bladder thus swell, and colour, and to hang out of their mouth. I afterwards told this thing to an hundred Sea-men, but they could not believe it; and I never found but one Dutch Pilote, who told me, that sailing once upon the Coast of *China*, he had met with the like; and that presently they put out their Boat to Sea, and took, as I did, with their hands abundance of Fishes. The day after, about even, we came among those Isles, and after we had look'd for a place where 'twas likely no Tigers would come, we landed, made fire, dressed a couple of Pulletts, and our Fish, which was excellent. Presently after Supper I made my men row until night, and for fear of losing our way between those Channels in the dark, we retired out of the great Channel, and found a good shelter in  
some

some small Creek, where we fasten'd our boat to a thick branch of a Tree, far enough from the Land, for fear of Tigers. In the night, when I was watching, there fell out a *Philosophical* accident, of which kind two had happen'd to me afore in *Dehli*. I saw a *Rainbow* of the *Moon*, which I shew'd to all my Company, and which very much surpris'd two *Portuguese* Pilots I had taken into my Boar at the desire of a friend, who had never seen nor heard of such a thing.

The third day we went a stray between these Channels, and if we had not met with some *Portuguese* making Salt in one of the Isles, that directed us in our way, I know not what would have become of us. But behold another *Philosophical* accident. In the night, being got again under shelter in a little Channel, my *Portuguese*, that still were concerned about the *Rainbow* of the last night, and whom that Observation had made more curious to behold the Heavens, awaken'd me, and shew'd me another, as fair and as well form'd



form'd as that was, which I had shew'd them. Mean time I would not have you think, that I mistook an *Iris* or Rainbow for a *Corona*, or Crown. There is no month almost but at *Debli* these Lunar Rainbows are seen in the season of the Rains, when the Moon is high above the Horizon: And I found that it must be so; having seen of them three or four nights one after another, and sometimes double ones. They were not Circles about the Moon, but opposite to her, and in the like Position with Solar Rainbows: And as often as I have seen them, the Moon was Westward, and the Rainbow Eastward. The Moon was also near full; which in my opinion, is necessary; because at other times she would not have light enough to form any. Lastly, these Rainbows were not so white as the Crowns use to be, but much more coloured, insomuch that there might be discerned in them some distinction of Colours. And thus you see, how I have been more happy than the Ancients, who, according to *Art-*

*Botle.*

little, had observed none such before him.

The fourth day about evening we retired out of the great Channel, as we used to do, into a very fair place of safety; but had one of the most extraordinary nights that ever I knew. There was not a breath of wind, and the Air was so hot and stuffing that we could scarce breath. The Bushes round us were so full of those little shining worms, that they seem'd to be on fire; and there arose fires here and there, which were like flames, and frighten'd my Sea-men, who said, they were Devils. Among the rest there arose two, that were very extraordinary; one was a great Globe of fire, which in falling and spinning lasted above the time of laying a *Pater noster*; and the other, which lasted about a quarter of an hour, was like a little Tree all in a flame.

The night of the fifth day was terrible and dangerous. There arose so great a storm, that though we were under the shelter of Trees, and that our small

Boat was well fasten'd, yet notwithstanding all that, the Wind broke our Cable, and was casting us into the great Channel, where we had infallibly perish'd, if I had not, together with my two *Portugueses*, presently laid hold on the Branches of some Trees, where we held fast for above two hours, whilst the storm lasted: For there was no assistance to be expected from my *Indian* Oar-men, whom fright had made incapable to help us in this occasion. But, what was most troublesome and amazing, there fell a Rain as if it had been pour'd down with buckets, which filled our Boat, and was accompanied with such Lightning and Thunder-claps, very near our head, that every moment we thought we should sink.

The remainder of our Voyage unto the ninth day, when I arriv'd at *Ogouli*, we pass'd very well and with pleasure; for I could not be satisfy'd with beholding such beautiful Countries: Mean time my trunk and all my baggage was wet, my Pallets dead, my





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things, we occasion'd them to discourse of the *Source* of the *Nile*, which they call *Abbable*; whereof they spake to us as a thing so known that no body doubted of it, and where one of these Ambassadors, and a Mogolian, that was return'd with him out of *Ethiopia*, had been in person. They told us, that it taketh its *Origin* in the Country of the *Agaw*, and issueth out of the Earth at two big bubbling Springs, near, one another, which form a small Lake of about thirty or forty paces long; that at the coming out of this Lake it is then already a pretty River; and that from place to place it receiveth other Rivers which enlarge it. They added, that it runs bending, and forming a great Pen-insule, and that after several *Cascata's* from steep Rocks, it falls into a great Lake, which is not above four or five days journey from its Source, in the Country of *Dumbia* or *Demba*, three little days journey from *Gander*, the Metropolis of *Ethiopia*; that having traversed that Lake, it issueth thence swell'd with all the

the waters that fall there, passeth through *Soumar*, the principal City of the King of *Funges* or *Barbaris*, tributary to the King of *Æthiopia*, running on and making the Cataracts, and so entering into the plains of *Messer*, which is *Egypt*.

After we had learned these particularities of the Source and Course of the *Nile*, I asked him, (to judge whereabout the Source of the *Nile* might be) towards which part of the World they believed the Countrey of *Dumbia*, wherein is *Gonder*, to be, in respect of *Babel-mandel*? But they knew not what to answer to this, but only, that they went always Westward; and especially the *Mahumetan* Ambassadour, (who was obliged to know better, and to take more Notice of the Position of the World, than the *Christian*, because the *Turks* are obliged in saying their Prayers to turn themselves towards *Mecca*) did assure me, that I was not at all to doubt thereof: Which did astonish me very much, because, according to their Description, the

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Source of the Nile should be much on this side of the Equinoctial, whereas all our Maps with Ptolomie place it a good way beyond it.

We also asked them, at what time it did use to rain in Ethiopia, and whether there were regular Seasons of Rain as in the Indies. To which they answer'd that it rain'd almost never upon that Coast of the Red-Sea, from Smaken, Arkika, and the Isle of Masawia to Babel-mandel, no more than it doth at Moka, which is on the other side, in the Happy Arabia; but that in the Heart of the Country, in the Province of Agaua, and in that of Dumbia and the circumjacent places it rain'd much for two of the hottest months of the Summer, and at the same time when it rain'd in the Indies; which was also, according to my computation, the very time of the Increase of the Nile in Egypt. They said further, that they knew very well, it was the Rain of Ethiopia, which swelled the Nile, overflowed Egypt, and fertilized the ground of it by the slime it carried upon

upon it; and that it was even therefore, that the Kings of *Æthiopia* pretended a Tribut to be due to them out of *Egypt*, and that, when the Mahumetans made themselves Masters of it, conceiving the Christians of the Country, they had a mind to turn the Course of the Nile another way, viz. into the Red Sea, thereby to ruine *Egypt* and to render it infertile; but that this design miscarried by reason of the great difficulties in effecting the thing.

All these particulars, which I had already learned, when I passed over to *Nok*, from a dozen Merchants, that come there every year in the name of the King of *Æthiopia* to attend the *Indian* trading Vessels, are considerable to make us judg, that the Nile increaseth not but by the Rains which fall without *Egypt* towards the Source of that River: But the particular Observations, I have made upon two Increases of this River, make them yet more so; for, in reference to all those Stories, that are made of it, as, *That 'tis* on a determin'd day it begins to in-



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† *crease; that on the 1. day of its increase there falls a certain Dew, which maketh the Plague cease, so that no body dieth any more of it after that hath once fallen; and that there are peculiar and hidden causes of the overflowing of the Nile: In reference, I say, to these stories, I have found during the said two Inundations, that they are but*  
 † *tales fancied and amplified by the people of Egypt, naturally inclin'd to superstition, and amazed to see a River swell in summer in a Country where it rains not: And I have found, that 'tis no otherwise with the Nile than 'tis with other Rivers, that swell and overflow by plentiful Rains, without any such fermentations of the nitrous soyl of Egypt, which some have suggested as the cause thereof.*

*I have seen it swelled above a foot, and very turbid, near a whole month before that pretended determin'd day of its Increase. I have observed during its increase, and before the Channels were open'd, that when it had grown for some days a foot or two, it*  
*after-*

the Paradise of INDOSTAN. 169

afterwards decreased little by little, and then began to increase a new, and so went on to increase and decrease without any other measure but that of the Rains that fall nigh the Source, and, as is often seen in our River of Loire, according to the fall of more or less Rain in the Mountains whence it flows, and the days or half days of fair weather there.

In my return from Jerusalem, going up from Damietta to Cairo, I chanced to be upon the Nile about a month before the pretended day of the Dew-fall, and in the morning we were all wet of the Dew fallen in the night.

I have been in Rosette at supper with Monsieur de Berman, Vice-Consul of our Nation, eight or ten days after this day of the Dew-fall, when three persons were struck with the Plague, of whom two died two within eight days, and the third, which was M. de Berman himself, had perhaps not escaped, if I had not pierc'd his Plague-sore; which presently infected my self like others; so that, if I had not forthwith taken

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taken some Batter of Antimony, I might have been as well as they, an Example of the little certainty there is in the Plague after the Dew; but this Emetic Medicine in the beginning of the Evil did wonders, and I kept but three or four days within doors; during which, I remember, my Bedouin that serv'd me made no scruple to drink, in my presence, the remainder of my broth, to encourage me; and from his principle of Predestination, to laugh at the fear we have of the Plague. Yet Experience shews, that after the day of the Dew the Plague is commonly not so dangerous as before; but the Dew contributes nothing to that; it is only in my opinion, that then there is a greater opening of the pores, which gives a vent to the malignant and pestiferous spirits, that were shut up in the body. Moreover, I have carefully inquired of some Masters of Boats, that had gone up as far as the end of the Plains of Egypt, that is, to the very Rocks and Cataracts; who assured me,

me, that when the Nile did overflow in the Plains of *Egypt*, where that pretended fermenting Nitrous Earth is, 'tis at the same time much swelled between those Mountains of the *Cataracts*, where, in all appearance there is no such Nitrous Earth.

Besides, I have made diligent inquiry of those Negroes of *Sennaar*, that come to serve at *Cairo*, and whose Country, being tributary to the King of *Ethiopia*, as I have said, lyes upon the Nile between the Mountains above *Egypt*; and they have assured me, that at the same time when the Nile is high and overflowing in *Egypt*, 'tis so also with them by reason of the Rains then falling in their Mountains, and higher up in the Country of *Habeche* or *Ethiopia*.

The Observations, I have made in the *Indies* concerning the regular Rains that fell at the same time when the Nile swells in *Egypt*, are also very considerable in this matter, and may make you imagine, that the *Indus*, *Ganges*, and all the other Rivers of those parts



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parts are so many Niles, and the Land,  
that is near their fall into the Sea, so  
many Egypts. This was my thought of it  
in Bengale, and what follows are the  
very words I set down about it.

That great number of Isles which  
are found in the Gulf of Bengala at the  
Mouth of the River Ganges, and  
which by lapse of time are join'd to one  
another, and at length with the Conti-  
nent, put me in mind of the Mouth  
of the Nile, where I have observed  
almost the same thing; so that as 'tis  
said, after Aristotle, that Egypt is the  
Workmanship of the Nile, so it may  
be said, that Bengale is the Work of  
Ganges, only with this difference, that  
as the Ganges is incomparably bigger  
than the Nile, so he carrieth with him  
towards the Sea a far greater quantity  
of Earth; and so forms greater and  
more Islands than the Nile; and that  
the Islands of the Nile are destitute of  
Trees, whereas those of Ganges are  
all covered with them, because of those  
four months of constant and plentiful  
Rains that fall in the heart of the Sum-  
mer,

mer, and render it needless to cut Channels in *Bengale*, to water and enrich the Earth, as they do in *Egypt*. It is just so with *Ganges* and the other Rivers of *Indostan*, as with the *Nile*; this and those increase in Summer by the means of Rain, which ordinarily fall at that time; except that then, and almost never, there are no Rains in *Egypt*, but a little toward the Sea, and that it rains not about the Source of the *Nile*; whereas in the *Indies* it rains in all the Countries, through which any Rivers pass; except the Kingdom of *Scymdi* towards the *Persian Gulf*, where is the Mouth of the River *Indus*; it happening that in some years it doth not rain there at all, though for all that the *Indus* swells there, and the Fields are water'd by the means of cut Channels, just as in *Egypt*.

For the rest, concerning the desire of *M. Thevenot*, to impart to you my Adventures of the *Red Sea*, of *Suez*, of *Tor*, of Mount *Sinai*, of *Gidda* (that pretended Holy Land of *Mahomet*, half a days Journey distant from *Mecca*;) as also  
of

of the Isle of Camarand and Tonhagan  
 and of whatever I could learn at <sup>the Mouth</sup>  
 of the Kingdom of Ethiopia, and of  
 the most commodious way to enter in  
 to it; these particulars I say I shall  
 endeavour to draw out of my mind  
 if God permits. the means of Rains  
 fall at that time; except that then  
 and almost never, there are no Rains  
 in Egypt, but a little toward the Sea,  
 and that it rains not about the Sea  
 of the Nile; whereas in the Indies it  
 rains in all the Countries, through  
 which any Rivers pass; except the  
 Kingdom of Siam, toward the Persian  
 Gulf, where is the Mouth of the River  
 Indus; it happening that in some of these  
 Some  
 for all that the Rains fall there  
 and the Fields are filled with  
 means of our Channel, till as in Egypt.  
 For the rest, concerning the decline of  
 M. Terecent, to impart to you my Ad-  
 ventures of the Red Sea of 1741.  
 of Mount Sinai, of Mount Sion, half a day  
 God Holy Land of Mount Sion, half a day  
 Journey thence from Mount Sion, as also  
 of

*Some  
 for all that the Rains fall there  
 and the Fields are filled with*

Some Particulars forgotten to be  
inserted in my first Book, to  
perfect the Map of Indostan,  
and to know the Revenue of  
the Great Mogol.

**T**O understand the better what fol-  
lows, 'tis requisite to know the sig-  
nification of these Terms, viz.

1. **Subah**, that is, Government and  
Province.

2. **Pragna**, that is, the Principal Town,  
Burrough or Village that hath many others  
depending from it, where Rents are paid  
to the King, who is absolute Lord of all  
the Land of his Empire.

3. **Serkat**, that is, the Exchequer of the  
Kings Treasure.

4. **Kazine**, that is, Treasure.

5. **Roupie**, the Money of the Country,  
equivalent to 29 or 30 pence.

6. **Lecque**, that is, one hundred thou-  
sand Roupies.

7. **Courour**, that is, one hundred  
Lecques.

i. Jehan.



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1. Jehan-Abad, or Debli, is the first Soubah; it hath sixteen Serkars in its dependance, and 230 Pragnas: It yields to the King nineteen Millions and five hundred and twenty five thousand Roupies.

2. Agra, otherwise called Akber-abad, is the second. It hath 14 Serkars, and 260 Pragnas; yielding to the King twenty five millions two hundred and twenty five thousand Roupies.

3. Lahor hath 14 Serkars, and 314 Pragnas, bringing in to the King the Rent of twenty four millions six hundred ninety five thousand Roupies.

4. Hofner, which belongs to a Raja, yields to the King a tribut of twenty one millions nine hundred and seventy thousand Roupies.

5. Guzerate, the Capital whereof is Amadavad, hath 9 Serkars, and 190 Pragnas; yielding to the King thirteen millions three hundred and ninety five thousand Roupies.

6. The Kingdom of Candabar belongs to the King of Persia; but the Pragnas that remain unit'd to the Crown of the

Great

the Paradise of INDOSTAN 177

Great Mogol, are 15 and yield in rent 1992500 Roupies.

7. *Atalaja* hath 9 *Serkars*, and 190 *Pragna's*; bringing in 9162500 Roupies.

8. *Patna*, or *Beara*, hath 8 *Serkars*, and payeth the rent of 9580000 Roupies.

9. *Elabas* hath seventeen *Serkars*, and 260 *Pragna's*; rendring 9470000 Roupies.

10. *Havud* hath 5 *Serkars*, and 149 *Pragna's*: It yields 6430000 Roupies.

11. *Atoulkan* hath 4 *Serkars* and 96 *Pragna's*: Brings in 11840500 Roupies.

12. *Jagannat*, in which is comprehended *Bengale*, hath 11 *Serkars*, and 12 *Pragna's*: It yields 7270000 Roupies.

13. *Kachemire* hath 5 *Serkars*, and 45 *Pragna's*: Yields 350000 Roupies.

14. *Caboul* hath 35 *Pragna's*, and brings in 3272500 Roupies.

15. *Tata* hath 4 *Serkars* and 54 *Pragna's*, and giveth 2320000 Roupies.

16. *Aureng-abad*, formerly *Daulet-abad*, hath 8 *Serkars*, and 79 *Pragna's*: Yields 17227500 Roupies.

17. *Varada* hath 20 *Serkars* and 191 *Pragna's*; yielding 15875000 Roupies.

M

18. *Can.*

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18. *Candeyr*, whose principal Town is *Brampour*, hath 3 *Serkars*, and 103 *Pragna's* : It brings in 18550000 *Roupies*.

19. *Talengand*, which borders upon the Kingdom of *Golkonda* on the side of *Maslipatan*, hath 43 *Pragna's*, and payeth in rent 6885000 *Roupies*.

20. *Baganala*, on the Confines of the Lands of the *Portegueses*, and the Mountains of *Seva-gi* (that *Raja* which plundered *Suratte*,) hath 2 *Serkars*, and 8 *Pragna's* ; paying the rent of 500000 *Roupies*.

According to these Particulars, which I take not to be the most exact or the most true, the Great *Mogol's* yearly Revenue of his Lands alone would amount to above two *Kourours* of *Roupies*, = 2500000 *£* *sterl*

## FINIS

(1)

A  
LETTER

SENT FROM  
CHINAS in PERSIA,  
June 10<sup>th</sup>. 1668.

TO  
Mons<sup>r</sup> CHAPELLE;

*Concerning his Design of repairing again  
to his Studies, about some Points rela-  
ting to the Doctrine of Atoms, and to  
the Nature of the Mind of Man.*

*My dear Friend,*



Did always believe what  
Monsieur Luvilier said;  
That it would only be  
a Transport of Youth,  
and that you would quit  
this kind of Life, so  
much displeasing to your Friends, and

B

at



2 Atoms & the Mind of Man.

at length return to your Studies with more vigour than ever. I have been informed from *Indostan* by the last Letters of my Friends, that you are now in good earnest, and are going to take a flight with *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, far beyond the flaming Walls of the world, into their infinite Spaces, to see and victoriously to report unto us what *may*, and what *may not* be done,

*Et ultra processit longè flammantia, &c.*

to take a Review, and to fall upon a serious meditation of the nature of those Spaces, the general Place of Things; upon those infinite Generations and Corruptions of their pretended worlds by their alledged fatal Concourse of Atoms; upon the Nature, Indivisibility, and other Proprieties of their Atoms; upon Liberty, Fortune and Destiny; upon the Existence, Unity, and Providence of God; upon the use of the Parts of Animals; upon the Soul, and all the other sublime matters they have treated of.

For

### Atoms & the Mind of Man. 3

For my part, I cannot condemn this Design, the inclination we have to know, being natural; on the contrary I am bound to believe, that it belongs but to Great Souls to elevate themselves to such high Enterprizes, in regard it is principally by this means, that a man can make appear what he is, and the advantage he hath above other Animals. But as the highest Undertakings are commonly also the most dangerous, this certainly is not without much danger. For though we seem to have a peculiar inclination and affection to *Truth*; yet it seems also, that we have another very strong one to *Liberty and Independency*, not to acknowledge a Master above us, and to say, to believe and to do all according to our Phantasie, without the fear of any, and without an obligation to render an account for any thing; so that if we be not upon our Guard, this latter Inclination will carry away the Bell; and if we stay upon the Reasons that carry us to this liberty, and content our selves with slightly considering

#### 4 Atoms & the Mind of Man.

those that might take us off from it; we shall soon find our selves engaged in a strange life, or at least be in suspense between both, and tossed up and down between a *'Tmay be that this is so,* and *'Tmay be that it is not so*; luke-warm, or cold, slow, and indifferent to what concerns the End and Rule of our Life.

Moreover, methinks, that most Philosophers suffer themselves easily to be carried away to this vanity of believing, that to entertain Opinions beyond the vulgar, is the way of being reputed Rare and Excellent Wits; they taking pleasure even to vent such Opinions as something Mysterious, belonging to none but men of great Knowledge, and grounded on deep and weighty Reasons; although they be not too much perswaded themselves of what they affirm. So that if such men do not take great care on that hand also, they shall not fail to be seized on by the aforementioned vanity, and whilst they go about to perswade others of what they are not perswaded themselves, they

they shall insensibly fall into that very Belief; like a Liar, who after having often related one and the same Untruth, at last believes it to be a Truth: Or at least they shall in the end fall into those inquietnesses, may be's, and indifferencies, which I have mention'd, instead of attaining that state of solid tranquility and sublime knowledge, which they promised, and wherewith they flatter'd themselves.

Lastly, there is no doubt, that though we have this inclination to learn, yet we are withal very lazy; we desire indeed Knowledge and Truth, but we would have it very cheap, without much Labour and Watching, which are irksome things, and often disturbing our health, yet necessary evils if we will know *thoroughly* the least thing, and make our selves capable to give a solid Judgment thereof. And thence it comes, that if we be not constantly upon our Guard, & contend not perpetually with our slothfulness, we shall soon come to flatter our selves with this belief; That to know things, there needs



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not so much painful study ; and so not being to resolve upon an uncessant Labour, we suffer our selves to be easily surprized with that *Appearance* of Truth, which shineth forth in the Reasons commonly produced by these Gentlemen, called *les Esprits forts* ; instead of seriously examining them, that so they may not be made to appear to us beyond what they contain of strength, nor the force of those that make against them be hid and disguis'd; as often enough happens, either by ignorance or prevention, or else by the vanity and presumption of those persons, that make it their business to dogmatize ; or lastly, by, I know not what, unhappy pleasure we generally take in suffering things to be exaggerated to us, or in evaggerating them our selves, tending to nothing else, than pleasantly to deceive one another.

Thus, *my dear Friend*, to tell you freely my thoughts of your Design; methinks, that in Philosophy, and especially in the study of those high matters which you undertake, there is

no middle way : I mean, that *either* we must , without so much subliming our Wits, suffer our selves to be sweetly carried away by the Current, which so many men of good sense, and that are reputed honest persons and good Philosophers, do follow (which to me seems to be the best and surest , as well because of the great labour , this study demands, as of the danger there is, that in Philosophizing but by halves, and not penetrating things to the bottom, we get nothing by the bargain but disquieting Doubts, making us unhappy the rest of our days, and leaving us often very vicious, and uneasie to Society ; ) Or else, if we will Philosophize, to do it to purpose, and that, without fearing the labour, and without suffering our selves to be surprized by the vanity of coveting to pass for extraordinary Wits , as also without suffering our selves to be carried away by that unhappy inclination of desiring to live without a Master and a Law ; that, I say , without these, we fall resolutely upon the study , and

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from a pure love to Truth, we become obstinate in weighing and weighing again all that comes before us, in meditating, writing, conversing, debating; in a word, in forgetting nothing of what may contribute to improve our understanding, and to render it more intelligent.

As to what at present you demand of me by your last, *viz.* that I should impart to you what came into my thoughts when I was discoursing with our *Danechmend-kan*, the Learned Gentleman of *Asia*, about all those matters, you are now applying your Studies to: I shall tell you freely, and without flattering my self, that you might address your self to a more intelligent person than me, but to none, that hath studied them with more care, than I have done. For I have not only contented my self, exactly to weigh the reasons of all that ever I could come to see of both Ancient and Modern Authors, *Arabians* also, and *Persians*, and *Indians*; but I have farther conferr'd an hundred times with what-  
ever

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ever great men I could any where meet with, so far as that I have often fain'd, when I was with those *Esprits forts*, as they will be call'd, that I was not averse from their Sentiments, to the end that they might conceal nothing from me. But that being a thing of great prolixity, it will be better, since you are now on the way to return into Europe, to refer that matter to our Meeting there, when we shall be able by word of mouth better and more conveniently to declare our thoughts to one another. Yet notwithstanding, that I may not seem to be careless of your desire, I shall in the mean time tell you thus much of the nature of our Understanding, *That it seems to me very rational to believe, that there is something in us more perfect and excellent, than all that which we call Body or Matter.*

You know, according to the *Idea* that *Aristotle* hath given us of the *First Matter* of things, that nothing can be imagin'd so imperfect, as it. For, in short, to be nothing but a certain  
Neg;



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*Neq; quantum, neq; quale*, is, methinks, to approach to a Nothing as near as may be. You know also, that all the perfections and proprieties, which *Democritus* and *Epicurus* attribute to their Primitive Bodies, or to the first and sole Matter of things, comes in a manner to this, that there are certain small and very solid Beings, without any vacuity in them, and indivisible; all having some particular and essential figure, so that there is an infinite number of round ones, (for example) an infinity of Pyramidal, an infinity of Square, and infinity of Cubick, Hooked, Pointed, Triangular ones; and so an innumerable number of other kinds of different Figures; all moveable of their own nature, and of an unimaginable Celerity; yet some of them more proper for the sensible motion of Concretions than others, that is to say, for disengaging and separating themselves, or for flying sooner and more easily away than others in the dissolution of Compounds, according as they are more or less small, or more or less round,

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round, or more or less polish'd and slippery: And lastly, that they are all eternal by their nature, and consequently all incorruptible and independent (as they pretend;) though they be without any sense, reason and judgment. You know, I say, that all the Proprieties of their little Bodies come, very near, to what I have now said; of which I desire you to be mindful, that so we may hereafter judge, whether they be capable of what is ascribed to them.

Yet, to take nothing from the force of their Principles, and to undeceive you, if you believe, I have cast off Atoms; I shall avow to you frankly, that the more I consider that *Division to Infinity* of any portion of *Finite* matter; the more absurd and unworthy of a Philosopher it seems to me: And I believe the Reasons, which are alledged to prove it, to be as captious as those, which *Zeno*, supposing this same divisibility, brought to prove, that there was no motion, since Mathematical Points, Lines and Superficies, which

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which have no being but by the Understanding, and are without profundity, ought not to be transferr'd and applied to Bodies Physical, which cannot be without all the dimensions, and are the workmanship of Nature: To which add, that a Philosopher ought to avoid, as much as is possible, to dive into *Infinity*, that being a deep and dark Abyſs, which often serveth men for nothing else but to hide themselves, and in which the wit of man is at a perfect loss.

Moreover, I acknowledge, I am still of that opinion, *not only*, that Atoms are indivisible, because they are little portions of Matter, or little hard Bodies, resisting and impenetrable (proprieties as essential to Matter, as Extension) and because they are pure matter continued, without any parts that are only contiguous, and of which each hath its particuſar and determinate Superſice; *but* also that the separation, disjunction or dissociation of parts meerly contiguous in a compound, is, in my judgment, the only division  
con-

conceivable : so that 'tis not possible, not only to divide any Atome, that is, any portion of matter purely continuous, though we should suppose it as long as a Needle, since that to divide it with Scissers, for example, or otherwise, you must come to some penetration, which is inconceivable to us; and that it must needs be, that something of the Needle, some portion or some part (if it may be said, that there are parts in a whole, where there are no contiguous ones) do yield, and yet that 'tis inconceivable, how it were able to yield to the Scissers that should press it, or to make other, antierior ones, yield without penetration; and that the more, because the parts pressed, and the part of the Scissers that should press, are both of them of the same Nature and the same force, both hard, resisting and impenetrable. So that the Doctrine of Atoms hath this great advantage, that it doth not so much as *suppose* its Principles, by demanding to grant out of meer favour the *Indivisibility* of the Primitive Bodies;



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forasmuch as it even cannot be conceived that they are divisible; nor, how out of soft, yielding and divisible Principles there should result a Compound that's hard; nor, how two most subtil portions of Matter, coming to hit one against another, should not resist each other by their hardness, without reducing themselves into some dust of smaller Particles. Besides, this Doctrine demands not, to have it granted out of meer Grace, that there must be little void spaces betwixt the parts of Bodies compounded, how subtil soever you may devise a Matter to fill them up; seeing it is likewise unconceivable, not only how a motion should be able to begin in *pleno* (where all is perfectly full) but how the parts themselves of this most subtil matter, that must have their particular figures defined and determin'd as well as the bigger, can be so perfectly disposed as that there should not still remain some of those little Spaces betwixt them.

I shall further acknowledge to you, that I think, it may, in the Atomical way

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way of Philosophizing, be very well and very rationally conceived, that there is no compound of so admirable a figure, composition, order and texture of parts, taking in the Body of Man it self, but that it may be formed by the concurrence, order and particular disposition of their little Bodies, the Atoms, provided there intervenes a guiding and regulating cause, intelligent enough for that purpose.

I shall likewise confess, that from *their* Principles there might result a Compound so perfect, as to be capable of the most difficult Local Motions that could be imagin'd, such as are, To walk like a Living and Animal Substance; as also, perfectly to imitate the singing, weeping, and all the other local motions of the most perfect Animals; there being no contradiction at all in it, all Watches and so many other artificial Engines evincing it, and not suffering us to doubt of the possibility of the thing.

Lastly, I shall very willingly agree, that the Sect of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*,

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*curus*, (it being suppos'd, that the Atoms are the workmanship of the Almighty and All-wise hand of God,) hath very great advantages above the rest, in that it can give a more probable reason of a great number of considerable effects of Nature, where others come short; and in my opinion, there are none but such as have not examined things thoroughly, and compar'd other Sects with it, that can doubt thereof. But to imagine and to perswade my self, that their Principles, with all those advantages, at length are capable, as they would have it, by a particular concourse, order, union and disposition, how admirable soever, and even by an intelligent guidance intervening, to arrive to the forming of such an Animal as is Man in his operations; This is that, *my dear Friend*, which I could never think possible; it hath ever appear'd to me contrary to Reason and good Sense, and will, doubtless, appear so to you, provided you have the patience to recollect what you have heard an hundred times,  
and

and which I am now going to repeat to you after my own way.

It is not that I mean to preach to you, and to make you believe I am become a very good man after my return (a Traveller like my self, and brought up in the School of Atoms, might possibly do Miracles, which I know not whether men would believe any thing of;) Be perswaded, that if I take upon me to discourse to you, it is not out of any vanity or affectation, but from my inmost sense, and with all possible sincerity. Nor is it, that I pretend, with all this *Asiatick* Preamble, to have found any new Reasons in the *Indies*; expect no such thing, I pray: I do almost despair as well as *Cicero*, that men should ever find any thing more upon this Subject beyond what hath been already found. It would be no hard task for me to shew, that all what the Moderns have said concerning it, is either nothing, or nothing new; There would need no more, than to begin with taking up again, what *Gassendi* and *Arnauld* have written about it against



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gainst *Des Cartes*, to which I find not, that he hath made any Answer : And it were to be wished, that he had been able to answer them so demonstratively and magisterially, as it seems he would have men believe he did : I should embrace, and little less than adore the Author of a Demonstration upon this Argument ; and to such an one the following Verses would be much more deservedly applicable, than to that ancient Atomist ;

*Qui genus humanum genio superavit, &  
omnes  
Præstinxit Stellæ, exortus uti Æthereus  
Sol.*

I shall therefore desire but one thing of you, which is, That you would please to make (which seems to me the only thing to be done here) a serious reflection upon what passeth *within* us, and upon the operations of our Understanding ; and that thereupon you would tell me sincerely, Whether you think, that there is a proportion between

tween the perfection of those operations, and the imperfection of what we call Body or Matter ; supposing ( what you will easily grant me ) that how much soever you strain your mind, you shall never conceive any other thing in Atoms, and generally in all that's Body or Matter, than those proprieties already enumerated, Size, Shape, Hardness, Indivisibility, Motion ; or, if you will ( which matters not here ) Softness and Divisibility.

I promise my self, that you will readily grant me this Request, which is, to go over again those ingenious and agreeable thoughts of yours, that have been drawn out of your *Memoires* ; and those many other Fragments of the same force of Wit, that have been left behind, and generally all those other Poetical Transports and Raptures of your *Homer*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*, which seem to have something of Divine in them : And you will not refuse in that serenity of mind and Philosophical temper, wherein sometimes you are in the Morning, to make some re-

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flexion upon four or five things, that seem to me to deserve very well the attention of a Philosopher. The *first* is, That our Senses are not only struck by Bodies so, as the Eyes of a Statue or an *Automaton*, but that we feel their impression, the titillation and pain, and that even we perceive that we feel, when we say, I perceive that this or that pleaseth my taste much more or much less than ordinarily; that my pain is much less or much more than it was; and so of an hundred things else. The *second*, That often we stay not there, but deduce these particular Conclusions; We ought therefore to follow this; or we ought to shun that: And afterwards, these *general* ones; All what is good, is to be followed; and all what is evil, is to be avoided. The *third*, That we remember what is passed, and consider what is present, and fore-see what is to come. The *fourth*, That sometimes we endeavour to penetrate into our selves, into that which is inmost in us, as I now do, when I am searching what I am; what is this Reason-

Reasoning power that is within me; what are these thoughts; these ratiocinations, and these reflections I make, reflecting thus upon myself and my Operations. The *fifth*, That being resolutely set to meditate upon a thing, we sometimes make new Discoveries, find new Reasons, or at least see those that have been found already, weighing them, and comparing one with another, and sometimes drawing thence such Consequences, as shall depend from a greater number of antecedent Propositions, which may be seen as 'twere in one view, and concur all to deduce such a Conclusion; as it comes to pass in all Sciences, especially the Mathematicks; wherein our Spirit shews I know not what force and admirable extent.

These few Reflections might suffice for what I demand of you, and that the rather, because as I can say more comes almost to the same thing. But you must resolve for once to endure the Style of these Countries of *Asia*, the Air of which I have breathed so



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long, and to have the patience further to cast your Eyes on a thing that seems to me very considerable, which is, That we know not only particular things that make impressi<sup>o</sup>n upon our Senses, but that our Understanding, by I know not what admirable force and capacity, taketh occasion to know and to form to it self *Idea's* of a thousand things, that fall not immediately and wholly as they are under the Senses; for example, that Man is a Reasonable Animal; that the Sun is much bigger than the whole Earth; that 'tis impossible, one thing should be at the same time and not be; that two things, being equal to a third, are equal among themselves; that the absence of the Sun causeth the Night; that all what's generated is subject to corruption; that of nothing, nothing can be naturally made; as not any thing that is, can naturally return to nothing; that of necessity there is something Eternal and Uncreated in the Universe, God, or the First Matter of things, or both, or that God created this Matter, and that

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that either from all Eternity or in Time:  
And an infinity more of other great  
and vast thoughts, and remote from  
Matter, of which we scarce know by  
what door they have entred into our  
Mind.

Now, all these actions, I have been  
speaking of, that argue so great a force  
and power, capacity and extent of the  
*Mind* of Man; all those interne Moti-  
ons; that peculiar State which we  
cannot perfectly explain, but yet plain-  
ly feel and perceive in our selves, when  
we attentively reflect on what passeth  
within us, and consider our operations;  
All those Actions, I say, and interiour  
Motions, or whatever you will call  
them, can they indeed be ascribed to  
Spirits, to a Wind, to Fire, to Air,  
to Atoms, to Particles of a Subtil  
Matter, and, in a word, to any thing  
that hath no other Qualities or Propri-  
eties than what can be comprized un-  
der this word, *Body*, how small and fine  
and nimble soever it may be, into what  
texture or disposition soever it may  
be cast, and of what motions soever it

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may be made capable? It cannot; we shall never be able to imagine that these things are meer Local Motions of some Engine barely Artificial, dead, insensibible, without Judgment, without Reason: These can never be any of those inward actions I have mention'd, as, That I see or know that I know; that I see I reason; that I see those reasonings, and perceive that I see them.

Moreover, let us a little cast our Eyes upon some of the main Propositions of *Euclid*, (not to speak of those of *Archimedes*, *Apollonius*, and so many others;) For my part, when I think only on the 47<sup>th</sup>. of the 1<sup>st</sup>. of *Euclid*, I there find something so great and noble, that I avow to you, I can hardly believe that it was an *Humane* Invention: So that I should imagine, that it was therefore that *Pythagoras*, after he had been so happy as to find this incomparable Proposition, was so ravished and transported, that he made that famous Sacrifice to thank the *Gods*, and had a mind to declare thereby, that

that this Invention surpassed the reach of an *Humane* Understanding.

Yet I would not therefore say, that there is reason to believe, that in Man there is a particle of Divinity, or some such thing. This is an unreasonable Tenet of some *Stoicks*, and of the *Cabalists* of *Persia*, and of the *Brachmans* of *India*, who, to acknowledge openly the Nobleness and Perfection of the Spirit of Man, chose rather to cast themselves into this extremity, than to believe it to be so base and imperfect, as to be all Body and Matter. I am far from entertaining such a Sentiment; you will see in the Letter to Monsieur *Chapelain*, that I cannot believe this to be an opinion defensible by a Philosopher: But this I do, I observe in Man, as well as those *Stoicks* and others, something so perfect, so great and high, that *their* opinion seems to me an hundred times less absurd, than that, which holds, that in Man, and even in the whole Universe, there is nothing but *Body*, but bodily and local Motions, but Atoms, but Matter.

Lord!



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Lord! When I think on't, who is that man, how little of good sense soever he may have, that can perswade himself, that when an *Archimedes*, a *Pythagoras*, and others of those great men, had those effects of the Mind, and were in their deep Meditations, there was then nothing in their Heads and Brains but what was Corporeal, nothing but Vital and Animal Spirits, nothing but a certain Natural Heat, nothing but Particles of a very subtil Matter, or nothing but Atoms, which, though they be Insensible, and without all Understanding and Reason, and do not so much, (according to the Doctrine of the Atomists) as move but by a fatal and blind motion and hit, should yet come to move and concur so luckily and wonderfully, that, as once by such a concurrence they had formed the Head of those Great men, such as it is with those innumerable Organs so industriously order'd and dispos'd; so also they should then be so lucky as to form and produce those subtil thoughts, and profound meditations;

tions; or rather that they should come to move themselves in all those Organs in so wonderful a manner, as at last to fall into a certain Order and into a certain Disposition and State, so marvellous, that they themselves were that Conceiving, Seeing, Meditating, those admirable Propositions, and those Divine Inventions?

Add to this, when we find our selves, upon some Affront, or other Displeasure received, ready to fall into Choler and Rage, and yet stop our Passion; I pray, this internal Commander and Command, which we feel, this kind of Obedience, of moderation and retreat, that is made, for example, upon the account of some consideration of Honesty, of Honour and Virtue, and against that natural Inclination we have to be revenged; what is that interiour motion and state? Can it be rationally said, that 'tis nothing but some Rollings, Counter-motions, Reflections, and peculiar conjunctions and textures of Atoms or Spirits, or of little Masses or Particles of Matter, which

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which are made within those Nerves, those fine Membranes, those very subtil Channels and Organs of the Brain, Heart, and other parts of the Body? These are pure *Chimera's*.

A word more concerning *Liberty*: When in the apprehension of taking an ill part for a good, we keep our selves in a poysie, seeking within our selves all the reasons that are for and against, and seriously pondering and examining them; this apprehension, this research, this ballancing, and the resolution we at last take to do or not to do the thing; all that, all those motions, all that inward state and way of Being (I speak in no other terms than they) shall it be nothing but a fortuitous and blind concurrence of little Bodies? Is it possible that you can imagine or perswade your self this? *Lucretius* himself, that sworn Partisan of the *Epicurean* Sect, could not do it, nor resolve to attribute to Atoms alone those free motions of the Will. For if the Will, saith he, is drawn away from Fatality, and raised above Destiny,

ny, *Et satis arumſa voluntas*, &c. How can he, with all his *clinamen* or deviation of Principles, have believed in good earnest and without scruple, that there is nothing but *Body*, and nothing done in us, more than elsewhere, but by a natural, eternal, independent, immutable and inevitable concurrence of Atoms? He was not ignorant, that that being so, neither the Will, nor any other thing whatsoever could be drawn and exempted from that concatenation and eternal and immutable Sequel of Motions and Causes, that would follow and succeed one another by eternal Orders absolutely necessary and unchangeable.

Besides all this, I could put you in mind of many Reasons that are wont to be alledged upon this Subject. You know that great man, who hath collected more of them than a score of very good ones. But that would be to abuse your Patience too much; and besides I see not, that there is much more of any importance to be considered hereupon, than what I have lately represented unto you. I



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I could also tell you, how I judge that all Objections, made upon this point, may be most rationally answer'd; but I know, that you are not a person, for whom Books are to be made. I shall only mention two things to that purpose.

The *first* is, That 'tis true what they say, That Eating, Drinking, Health, Natural Heat, the Spirits, and a good Disposition of Organs, (all which are natural things, and as they speak, depending from Atoms as Principles and the first Matter) are things necessary to all those Thoughts, Reasonings and Reflections; and, in a word, to all those Internal Operations I have mentioned. This is a thing that cannot be denied, and which every one doth too sensibly experiment not to aver it: But thence to conclude, that whatsoever intervenes and concurs to form those Operations, is only and meerly Body, Atoms, Spirits, Subtil Matter, is that which, after the least Reflection made upon *their* Excellency, and upon the imperfection of Bodies or Atoms, or  
upon

upon the little resemblance there is in *their* Qualities to *those* Operations, can never with any good sense be granted: So that, methinks the most that might be allow'd, would be, that the Atoms, and Spirits, and all those other things alledged, are indeed necessary as conditions or dispositions, or the like, and not as the first and absolute Principles, and as the *Total* cause of the Operations; but that there is requisite some other thing than all that, something nobler, higher, and more perfect.

The *second* thing is, That 'tis true also, that we cannot form a right, or, as they speak, a next and positive *Idea* of what is *above* a *Body* or of any thing that is *not-Body*: This, indeed, we cannot do, in my opinion, whilst we are in this mortal state so strictly united to the Body; the dependance of the bodily Senses, that so much confine and obscure the light of our Understanding, hinders us from it: But I see not that thence it is to be concluded, that therefore there is really nothing  
above

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*above* Body, or Atoms, or Matter. For, how many things are there, of which we have no such positive *Idea*, which yet Reason obligeth us to avow that they have a real Being? Or rather, how few things are there, of which we have any True *Idea's*? Have these Philosophers themselves any positive *Idea* of their Atoms? They acknowledge that their smallness is such, that it cannot be so much as imagin'd by hearing this word *Atom* pronounc'd or explain'd; so far are they from being capable to fall under our Senses, and from imprinting in us a true and positive *Idea*; and yet notwithstanding they believe, and conclude from Reason, that they *are*. A Mathematician, hath he the positive *Idea* of the Magnitude of the Sun? It is so prodigious, and so far remote from the capacity of the Senses, that we are not able even so much as to imagine it such as it is; and yet for all this, there is none that is not fully perswaded and convinced thereof by the force of Demonstrations, and that knows not perfectly, that  
he

he exceeds by far the bigness of the  
Globe of the Earth. And besides, it is  
not true, that the nature of a thing  
may be known two manner of ways;  
either *positively*, as when it falls under  
some one or more of our Senses, or as  
when we give a positive Definition  
thereof; or *negatively*, by saying what  
it is not: Now I shall grant, that we  
are not capable to know the Principle  
of our Operations or Ratiocinations  
by the *first* way, to say what it is, and  
how those Operations are made and  
produced. Alas! we are not so hap-  
py; we should need other Senses far  
more perfect than all those we have.  
We are not born to dive and Philoso-  
phize so far;

*Invidia præclust speciem natura videndi.*

But we ought also to acknowledge, that  
at least we are capable to know it after  
the *second* way: So that, if we can-  
not say truly and positively what it is,  
we can at least say, and certainly know

D

what



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what it is not : I mean, that from the perfection of the Operations, which we do evidently see to be such as that they have no proportion with all those proprieties and perfections of Atoms, and do universally surpass the reach of what is meerly Body ; we can deduce a certain Conclusion, that the Principle of such Operations, and those Operations themselves must needs be something above all that's Body or Corporeal. Which is here sufficient for me, who at the beginning engaged my self no further, and pretend not, that we can make a true and positive *Idea* of that Principle ; but only that we can and ought to conclude by Ratiocination, that there must needs be something, as hath been said, that is far more perfect and far more noble than all that is in the rank of Bodies, whatever its Being or Nature may be.

But shall I make an end, fully to discover unto you my thought ? You well know, whether I am a person that taketh

keth pleasure in vaunting, or in forging  
 Untruths, or to speak things at ran-  
 dom in a matter so important as this. It  
 cannot be denied, that there is a very  
 great difference between the Operati-  
 ons of Brutes, and those admirable O-  
 perations of Man, of which we now  
 treat: I speak not only in respect of  
 those of their outward senses, but al-  
 so in reference to those of their inward  
 ones, or their Imagination. All that  
 is so much beneath the Reasoning of  
 man, that we must avow, there is not  
 any proportion, and that those of Man  
 proceed from a very differing and infi-  
 nitely more perfect Principle. Not-  
 withstanding all that (and this is the  
 thought I would declare to you) I  
 should think that person an hundred  
 times less absurd, that should go about  
 to maintain, that in the Principle of  
 those Operations of Brutes, whether  
 it be of their internal or even their  
 external Senses, there were somewhat  
 more perfect than Corporeity and all  
 that may be understood and compre-  
 hend.

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hended under the name of Body, or Matter, or Spirits; than him, that should pretend the Principle of the Operations of Man were merely Corporal: So much do I take this Opinion to be out of all reason, and unworthy of a man of good Judgment. Certainly it can be no serious Philosophy; it can be nothing but an Excess of Vanity, that hath cast those Philosophers, we have spoken of, into such an irrational Extream. They doubtless saw, that their Sect had great Advantages above all the rest, in being able to explain with much Ease and Probability abundance of the most considerable Effects of Nature, only by Local Motion, and the Order and particular Disposition of their Matter, Corpuscles or Atoms: And thence they would make us believe, that by the same Principles they could give an account of all, and explicate whatever concerns the Spirit of Man, and the Operations thereof.

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My Dear Friend, have not you and I concluded an hundred times, that how much soever we strain'd our Understanding, we could never conceive, how from *Insensible* Corpuscles there could ever result any thing *Sensible* without the intervention of any thing but what's *insensible*; and that with all their Atoms, how small and how nimble soever they make them, what motions and figures soever they give them, and in what order, mixture or disposition they range them, yea and whatever industrious hand they assign them for guidance, they would never be able (still supposing with them, that they have no other proprieties or perfections than those recited) to make us imagine, how thence could result a Compound, I say not, that should be *Reasoning* like Man, but that should be merely *Sensitive*, such as may be the vilest and the most imperfect Worm on Earth. How then dare they pretend, that they will make it out, how thence can result a thing *Imagining*, a thing



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Reasoning, and such an one as shall be the Imaginations and Ratiocinations themselves?

For my part, if you'll believe me, let us lay aside all that presumption and vanity of those *Esprits forts*; let us not pretend to be able to explicate the nature of the Principle of our Reasonings in the same manner, as we might do the other things that fall under our Senses, and let us not play the Geometers upon it. We are not, as I have already said, happy enough for that; 'tis a thing which cannot be done in this mortal state, and in this great dependance from the corporeal senses in which we stand. Yet notwithstanding we ought to form a higher *Idea* of our selves, and not to make our Soul to be of such base alloy, as those Philosophers, too corporeal in this point, would have us do. We ought to believe for certain, that we are infinitely more noble and more perfect than they make us, and resolutely maintain, that though we cannot exactly know what  
we

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we are, yet we know very well and very certainly, what we are not; which is, that we are not altogether of Mire and Dirt, as they pretend. *Farewel.*

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**FINIS.**

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